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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, AT 70 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

Conducted by
W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS
AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE DILL, Business Manager

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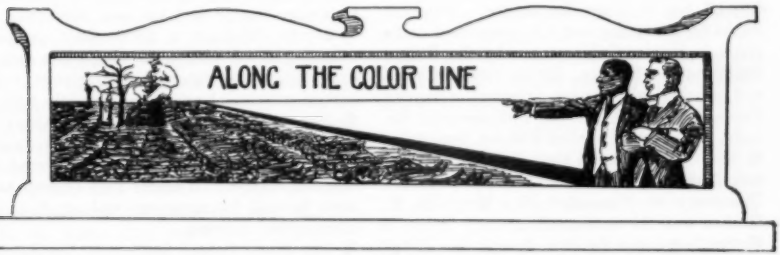
THE CRISIS

Vol. 9 —No. 3 JANUARY, 1915 Whole No. 51



MUSIC AND ART

THE reproduction of "The Adoration of the Kings" by Jan Gossart which appeared in the Christmas number of THE CRISIS is one of a number of noted paintings which make the figure of the adoring black king one of prominence. The Antwerp Museum houses the "Adoration of the Magi," by Rubens, in which the Nubian slaves are grouped by the side of the worshiping camels and the African king is pictured parading in the center of the picture. In the Louvre is seen, painted three years after, a second picture by the same master, commissioned for the Church of the Sisters of the Annunciation in which the black king is placed as the central figure.

¶ In Burne-Jones' "The Star of Bethlehem" the adoring Negro prince is the third figure on the right. A painting of an unlike subject, exhibited in the Vienna Gallery, "The Four Quarters of the Globe," by Rubens, symbolizes the quarters of the globe by one of the great rivers—the Danube, the Nile, the Ganges and the Amazon. The rivers are in turn symbolized by four male figures with their beautiful female companions. Of "bronze-hued" loveliness are the man and the maid that represent the Nile.

¶ A recital of unusual artistic excellence was that by Mr. Charles Burroughs of New York in contemporary American and British poetry and verse, given at the Berkley Theatre, New York City, on November 6. Mr. Burroughs has chosen from the most important authors of to-day, many distinctive poems that divided his program into the following sections—"The Way to Arcady," "The Ways of Love," "More Matter of Fact," "A Variant Note," and "The Note of the World." Mr. Burroughs was assisted by Mr. A. Nathaniel Gross, pianist, Mr. Israel Katz, violinist, and Mr. J. Joseph, accompanist.

¶ On the evening of November 12 in Steinert Hall, Boston, Mr. Roland Hayes, the tenor whose beautiful voice gains in communicating power, gave a recital of songs, classic and modern, before a very large and enthusiastic audience. Mr. Hayes was assisted by Mr. W. I. Howard, a student violinist of the New England Conservatory of Music, and Miss Ruth Yeo and Mr. Charles Harris, accompanists.

¶ On November 30 Mr. Hayes sang at the First Congregational Church at Nashua, N. H.

¶ Mr. Hamish Mackay, a baritone who comes to America with the declaration "to spread the gospel of British, and particularly Scottish music," gave a song recital at Aeolian Hall, New York City, in November. S. Coleridge-Taylor was one of the English composers represented on his program.

¶ *Musical America* states that "Afro-American Folk Songs" was the subject of an absorbing lecture recently given by Mrs. Margaret Millward at Public School 129, Brooklyn.

¶ John M. McCormack, the celebrated Irish tenor, who was heard in a recital on November 15 at the Academy of Music, Brooklyn, N. Y., gave as one of his concluding songs "Life and Death," by Coleridge-Taylor,

which was said to be one of the strongest numbers on the program. At Mr. McCormack's recital at Symphony Hall, Boston, November 30, he presented Coleridge-Taylor's "You Lay So Still."

¶ Boosey and Company announce among their recent publications "The Rainbow Child," by S. Coleridge-Taylor. Familiar works by this composer are announced to be given in England this season by the Ealing Philharmonic Society, Hither Green Choral and Orchestral Society, Central Croydon Choral Society, S. London Philharmonic Society, and West Croydon District Society.

¶ Mr. Clarence C. White, violinist, of Boston, Mass., gave a recital at Wilberforce University on November 16. Miss Ida F. Horton was the accompanist.

¶ On November 23 Mr. Joseph H. Douglass gave a violin recital at Reedy Chapel, Galveston, Texas.

¶ The Atlanta University quartet with Mr. Sidney Woodward, tenor, was heard in and about Boston, Mass., during the week of November 16. A recital was given by the quartet in the interest of the University at the home of the Misses Houghton, Cambridge, Mass., on the afternoon of November 16.

¶ The Tuskegee Singers, assisted by Mr. Charles Winter Wood in dialect readings, gave concerts in Texas during the month of November, in the interest of Tuskegee Institute.

¶ Mme. Anita Patti-Brown, soprano, was heard with pleasure in Boston and surrounding cities during the latter part of November.

¶ On November 13 the Clef Club Orchestra of New York gave a concert in the Academy of Music, Philadelphia, Pa. The orchestra was assisted by a chorus of 60 male voices and presented a program of light music of syncopated melody.

¶ A folk song concert of Afro-American music was given under the direction of Mme. E. Azalia Hackley at Symphony Hall, Boston, Mass., on November 30. The soloists were Mr. R. Nathaniel Dett, pianist, of Hampton, Va., and Mr. Clarence C. White, violinist. Of the chorus of 200 voices the Boston *Herald* said:

"The singing was remarkable for the beauty, depth and richness of tone displayed. There was precision, too, and spontaneity. The leaders of these choruses were members of church choirs. Among them Miss Allen's voice was conspicuous for its beautiful quality. R. Nathaniel Dett, pianist, played his own compositions, two suites, the 'Magnolia' suite and 'In the Bottoms.' He also conducted his anthem, 'Listen to the Lambs,' in which he has made effective use of the Negro scale. Mr. White played pieces by Coleridge-Taylor and his own 'Berceuse.'"

¶ Myrtle Wallace, a little eleven-year-old colored girl, of Vancouver, B. C., was awarded a prize for water-color painting at the annual provincial exhibition recently held.

¶ The tenth season at the Little Gallery of 291 Fifth Avenue, New York City, opens with an exhibition of statuary in wood by African savages. Hitherto such objects have been housed in museums and studied for ethnological interest.

¶ The Music School Settlement for Colored People, 4 and 6 West 131st Street, New York City, announces a series of lectures and recitals. Among the lecturers who are volunteering their services are Miss Natalie Curtis, Miss Kitty Cheatham, Henry E. Krehbiel, Talcott Williams, Kurt Schindler, Howard Brockway, David Mannes, Walter Damrosch, Thomas Mott Osborne, Canon C. W. Douglas, George McAneny, and W. E. B. DuBois.

¶ Mr. William M. Farrow, of Chicago, Ill., won the first prize for his painting "A Bit of Catskill Mountains," at the art exhibit of the Montgomery County Art Association.

SOCIAL UPLIFT

THE steamer "Liberia" is reported sunk by Germans. The expedition left New York last spring and planned to settle on the Gold Coast of West Africa.

¶ The Charleston County Medical Association has submitted its annual report to the Corporation of the Hospital and Training School for Nurses in South Carolina.

¶ Mr. Charles Robinson, an aged Creek Negro, of Tulsa County, Okla., is the father of 42 children.

¶ Miss Josephine Field, a 16-year-old colored girl of Baltimore, Md., has won two Two Dollar prizes offered by the Baltimore *Evening News* for prize stories.

¶ Funds are being raised for the erection of a hospital for colored people in South Carolina. The white citizens of Columbia and generally of the State of South Carolina will raise $10,000 if the Negroes will raise an equal sum.

¶ Negro church folk of Chester, Pa., are

fighting a neighboring saloon. This is part of a bitter fight against the place by the No-License League.

¶ Attorney William R. Stewart, of Youngstown, Ohio, moved the admission of a white attorney to practise before the U. S. Supreme court. This is the first time in the history of the court that a colored attorney has stood sponsor for a Caucasian.

¶ The Progressive Negro League of Chicago, Ill., organized about two years ago, now has a membership of 200 or more members, composed of business men and women. The League has created a Public Service Commission with M. T. Bailey as chairman, to co-operate with various civic and governmental bodies of the state and city of Chicago, to better the conditions of Afro-Americans.

¶ Many philanthropic organizations among colored people are feeling the present financial stringency. Miss Elizabeth Walton, head of the Walton Kindergarten, of New York City, says in an appeal: "You who have given your contribution each year, but have not come in contact with the individual needing help or the worker giving his life to the work, cannot realize what the withdrawing of your contribution this year means."

ECONOMICS

THE Standard Life Insurance Company, of Atlanta, Ga., has passed the million dollar mark for paid-up insurance. Mr. Heman E. Perry is the president of this organization and Mr. Harry H. Pace, the secretary.

¶ The "Starlight," an excursion steamer of Baltimore, Md., was destroyed by fire. Captain Brown, the owner, says he will have another steamer for the excursion business next summer. It is thought that this may have been the work of incendiaries.

¶ The Pythians, of Kentucky, raised $5,000 on Thanksgiving Day. The cornerstone for a $120,000 building was laid at Louisville.

EDUCATION

THE Freedman's Aid Society of the M. E. Church reports a total expenditure of $510,341.15 from all sources in the prosecution of work during 1913-14. The Jubilee Fund now amounts to $249,761.09. Of this colored conferences have raised $133,000.00. Including Conference collections and Jubilee Fund, and tuition, room rent, board and incidentals, the colored people provided nearly $300,000 of the total receipts of half a million dollars of the Society.

¶ S. H. Tingley, of Providence, R. I., has contributed $75,000 to the Freedman's Aid Society.

¶ Through the philanthropy of Mrs. Sallie J. McCall, the Colored Industrial School of Cincinnati has been established. Mrs. McCall left the bulk of her large personal fortune as an endowment for such an institution. The amount of property which has come finally into the possession of the school makes this the largest single gift ever made to colored people for a specific purpose.

MEETINGS

THE National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, of New York City, held its second annual public meeting at Bethel Church, December 4.

¶ The second annual meeting of the Emancipation Association, of Philadelphia, was held November 8. Plans were made for the celebration of Emancipation Day by colored citizens of Philadelphia, on January 1.

¶ The State Teachers' Association has met in St. Joseph, Mo. There were 135 teachers present.

¶ The Lone Star State Medical, Dental and Pharmaceutical Association met in Houston, Texas, November 9, 10 and 11. The meeting was not well attended but was very interesting. Their next meeting will be held in Marshall, Texas.

¶ The twenty-fifth anniversary of the employment of colored teachers in the city schools was observed with special exercises at Baltimore.

¶ At Newport the Union Congregational Church has been celebrating its ninetieth anniversary. This church has a long and interesting history.

In 1781 the African Union Society of Newport was organized and January 24, 1824, the Union colored church succeeded it. For 30 years the Rev. Mahlon Van Horn was active pastor. The Rev. C. L. Miller is the present pastor.

¶ The failure of the firm of Lewis Johnson and Company, a white bank of the District of Columbia, has tied up some of the resources of the financial department of the A. M. E. Church. The church collects over $200,000 a year outside of its local finances.

POLITICS

A DELEGATION of colored men representing the National Equal Rights League had an interview with President Wilson last month. The President resented the

tone of the spokesman, Mr. W. M. Trotter, and defended segregation. The incident has caused widespread comment.

¶ In the late elections Mr. S. B. Turner, of Chicago, Ill., and Mr. Robert R. Jackson were elected to the General Assembly from the First and Third Districts. Rev. Barney Bone, a Negro minister, 70 years of age, was elected Justice of Peace at Noblesville, Indiana.

¶ The Socialists succeeded in electing one United States Congressman, four State Senators and twenty-six Representatives, besides hundreds of local officials.

¶ Mr. Robert N. Wood has been re-elected Chief of the United Colored Democracy of New York.

PERSONAL

BUTLER CAMPFIELD who has held the best record in case examination of railway mail clerks in the Eleventh District with an average of 99.97 per cent has been promoted to the St. Louis and Texarkana railway post office.

¶ William Russell Johnson, a well known and popular colored citizen of Brooklyn, for 23 years a clerk in the city civil service, is dead.

¶ The Thomas Y. Crowell Company announces a book on the Haytian Revolution, by Chaplain T. G. Steward of Wilberforce University.

¶ Attorney H. L. Tignor and ex-Judge E. M. Hewlett have been successful lately in winning difficult cases in the Washington courts.

¶ Mr. B. F. Cox, a graduate of Fisk University, is the new principal of Avery Institute, Charleston, S. C. He has formerly acted as principal at Florence, Ala., and Albany, Ga.

¶ When Judge Robert H. Terrell recently visited the courts of Philadelphia he sat on the bench with Judge Brown of the Domestic Relations Court, and Judge Gorman in the Juvenile Court. This is perhaps the first time that a colored judge has thus been honored in Pennsylvania.

¶ Newton Lloyd Gilbert, son of the Rev. M. W. Gilbert, and a former student of Colgate University, is dead at the age of twenty-five.

¶ Mr. W. Carl Bolivar, a well-known writer and collector of books, has died in Philadelphia. He was for many years employed by the banking house of John Ashurst and Company.

¶ Mrs. Mary Church Terrell and Mr. W. E. B. DuBois have been addressing various forums and women's clubs in New England. Mrs. Terrell was especially effective at Ford Hall, Boston.

FOREIGN

ABYSSINIA'S export and import trade amounted to $10,000,000 last year. The United States and six European nations are working to develop and monopolize it. At present there are five American citizens in Abyssinia, two of whom are Negroes. The French are building a railroad 500 miles to the sea which will cost $20,000,000. The American consul was received by 2,000 soldiers and 10,000 people.

¶ There are two sorts of French African troops—Turcos and Senegalese. The Turcos are recruited from Arabs, Berbers and Negroes along the North African coast. The Senegalese are West African Negroes.

GHETTO

THE murder of colored women still proceeds in Atlanta and the perpetrator has not been arrested.

¶ An ordinance for the segregation of Negroes in St. Louis has been introduced into the House of Delegates. The bill establishes white and colored blocks and also neutral blocks. The latter are eventually to become white or colored. Fines and imprisonment are the penalties.

¶ From Franklin, Ky., comes the story of two white men tried for the murder of a colored woman. The woman had attended a dance with a colored man. The two white men met the couple and on charging her with infidelity and going with colored men, shot and killed her instantly. A similar story comes from Cincinnati where a white man killed a colored woman because she wanted to return to her colored associates.

¶ The Y. W. C. A. of Portland, Ore., has drawn the color line.

¶ In East St. Louis one and one-half per cent of the monthly salary of each teacher is deducted to pay for a lecture course. Reserve seats can be had by paying ten cents extra. When the colored teachers appeared at the last lecture they were shown to the gallery in spite of their reserve seat checks. They protested, but it is now threatened that unless they attend these compulsory lectures and submit to being "Jim-Crowed" they may be dismissed.

¶ The Inasmuch Mission of No. 1011 Lo-

cust Street, Philadelphia, is trying to reclaim the fallen of the surrounding slum section. They have recently announced, however, all such fallen folk must be white. Bishop Rhinelander is said to be Chairman of the Board of Directors.

¶ It is said that the white Presbyterians of New York are joining with the various Negro-hating associations of Harlem to keep out colored people. They have recently declared that they are unable to find a site for a colored church in the district where the colored people wish it to be. The colored people declare that a site could easily have been found if the stated clerk and a leading white Presbyterian pastor in Harlem had not blocked the way.

¶ The State Farmers' Union of North Carolina at a recent meeting passed the following resolution:

"That we earnestly reiterate our endorsement of the plan adopted at our last session urging land segregation between the races, and urge our local unions to help bring it about, to wit: That wherever the greater portion of the land acreage in any community is owned by one race, a majority of the voters of that race may say, if they wish, that in future no land shall be sold to persons of a different race, provided such action is approved by a reviewing judge or board of commissioners as being necessary to their peace and safety and the protection of their social life."

¶ The children of J. R. Medlin of Wake County, N. C., have been "accused" by the Board of Education of having Negro blood, but the Supreme Court has decided that this has not been proved and that, therefore, the children may attend the white schools!

¶ Five years ago George Gains, a wealthy white saloon keeper of Orange, Va., died and left the bulk of his estate amounting to over $50,000 to "Rose Henshaw and our two children." Rose Henshaw is colored and is now being sued by Mrs. Dora Delinger for alienating her husband's affections.

¶ At Fort Wayne, Ind., A. D. Trenton shot H. T. Bruce, a colored head-waiter and killed him because the colored headwaiter had "talked back to him." Trenton pleaded guilty and was given an indeterminate sentence of from two to twenty years.

¶ Rev. Thomas King, a reputable colored minister of Montgomery, Ala., was shot recently by two white men and robbed of twenty-three dollars. His assaulters claimed self-defense and were released on a bond of $1,000.

¶ For the first time in the history of Sacramento a proprietor of a restaurant has been arrested for refusing to serve a colored man. M. D. Travis is the complainant and the Peacock Cafe the defendant.

COURTS

THE white and colored shriners of Georgia have amicably settled their dispute.

¶ The U. S. Supreme Court in the Oklahoma "Jim-Crow" car law case declined to declare the law unconstitutional because of a defect in the presentation of the case, but they intimated that the failure to provide sleeping cars and dining cars for colored people was illegal.

¶ The Louisville segregation case has come up in the police court where Arthur Harris was fined for breaking the law. The city attorney brought in a real estate expert who declared that the Phythian Hall at Tenth and Chestnut Streets would depreciate property. This hall will cost $125,000. He also quoted Booker T. Washington and President Wilson in defense of the law!

¶ A conductor on a dining car in California shot and killed a colored cook because he did not like the way in which his steak was cooked. He was acquitted on the plea of self-defense.

¶ For the first time in the history of Florida a white man has been convicted for the murder of a Negro. Three men were convicted of murder in the second degree for killing E. Johnson, a Negro.

CRIME

THE following eight lynchings of colored people have taken place since our last record:

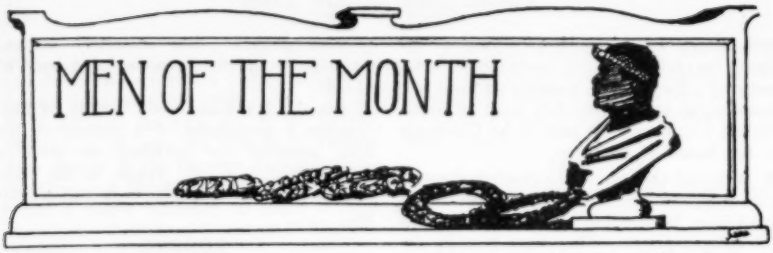
¶ St. Petersburg, Fla.—John Evans, accused of assaulting a white woman.

¶ Shreveport, La.—K. McKnight, T. Lewis and M. Dirden, accused of murdering a post master.

¶ Byhalia, Miss.—Fred Sullivan and his wife Jane Sullivan, accused of burning a barn. They left a four year old child.

¶ Lynchburg, S. C.—D. Wilson, accused of murdering a white woman.

¶ Hillside, Ky.—H. Allen, killed by night riders. No charge.



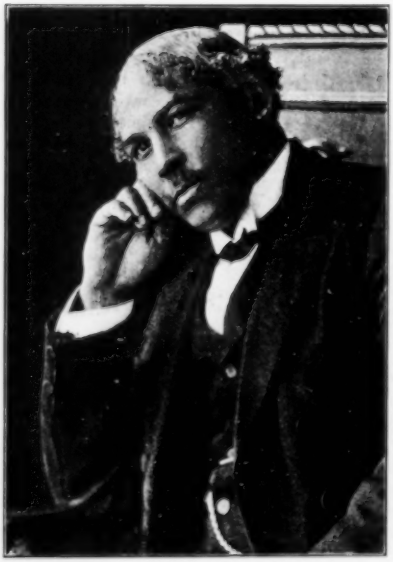
A POET

JAMES DAVID CORROTHERS was born in Cass County, Mich., July 2, 1869, in the celebrated "chain lake" section. He is of Negro, Scotch, Irish, Indian and French blood. As the only colored boy in the little town where he was reared he says that he had actually to whip every white boy in the village before he was allowed to go to school in peace. At fourteen he began to work in saw mills and on farms and among other things blacked boots and gave sparring exhibitions. Eventually he attended Northwestern University and Bennett College in North Carolina. He afterward worked in newspaper work on several daily papers and knew well "Mr. Dooley," Frances Willard and Henry D. Lloyd. Among his colored friends were Frederick Douglass and Paul Lawrence Dunbar.

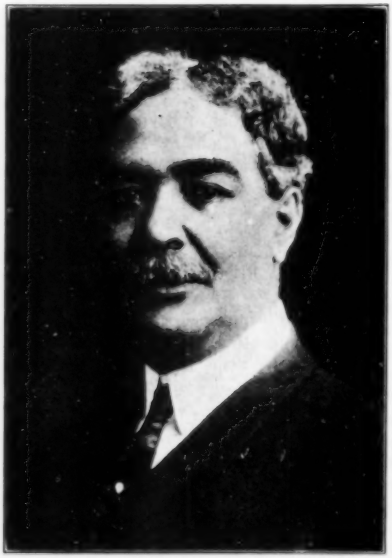
Mr. Corrothers is a poet and writer and recently has been read in the best periodicals. To the *Century*, especially, he has contributed for sixteen years and to numbers of the leading dailies. He has just completed a book for which Ray Stannard Baker has written the introduction. Mr. Corrothers married Rosina B. Harvey, of Washington, a musician of note and composer. There is no doubt that Mr. Corrothers ranks with Mr. Braithwaite as the greatest of living Negro American poets.

A READER

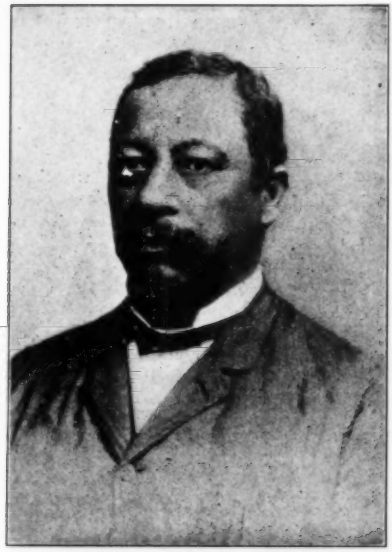
RICHARD B. HARRISON, of Chicago, was born in London, Ontario, September 28th 1864. He began life as a newsboy and then worked on cattle farms and as a bellboy in the old Russell House in Detroit.



MR. JAMES DAVID CORROTHERS



MR. RICHARD B. HARRISON



THE LATE HON. J. WILLIS MENARD

Here he began to read Shakespeare and to take lessons in elocution, studying under the best teachers he could find. He made his first tour of the United States in 1891 and in 1895 married Gertrude J. Washington, the first colored graduate of the Chicago Musical College. Mr. Harrison was a great friend of Paul Lawrence Dunbar and Mr. Dunbar was best man when Mr. Harrison was married. From 1892 to 1896 Mr. Harrison worked under the Great Western Lyceum Bureau in California. He returned to the East in the latter year and has been working largely among his own people.

He is a man of talent and ambition and is desirous now especially of establishing a lyceum bureau to encourage the talent of the Negro race.

THE FIRST NEGRO CONGRESSMAN

J. WILLIS MENARD was born in Illinois in 1840. During the war he came to Washington and was a clerk in the Department of Immigration. In 1863 he went to British Honduras but returned and went to New Orleans where he was appointed Inspector of Customs and afterward Street Commissioner. He was nominated for Congress in 1868 receiving 3,000 votes over his white opponent, Kaleb Hunt. He ran for an unexpired term for the Fortieth Congress and was declared elected by the said authorities. He was not, however, seated in Congress although later Senator Sheldon received the same vote and was vouched for by the same authorities and was seated. Thus, Menard broke the ice and was in reality the first colored congressman.

Mr. Menard removed to Florida in 1871 and was appointed a clerk in the post office in Jacksonville and later to the state legislature. He then became Collector of Internal Revenue and twice Justice of Peace.

In all his public trusts he proved himself a capable and faithful man and his speech before Congress in the Congressional Contest was notable. He retired from public life without a stain on his character and died in 1893 at the age of fifty-three.

A SUCCESSFUL PHYSICIAN

EDWARD G. BOWDEN, of Griffin, Ga., was born in Georgia, November 30th, 1880. At the age of fifteen he was sent to St. Augustine's School, Raleigh, N. C., where he graduated in 1902 from the College De-

DR. EDWARD D. BOWDEN

partment. After teaching school he went to Meharry Medical College in Nashville, Tenn., where he graduated in 1907 and began the practice of medicine in Griffin. He has a large practice, has accumulated real estate and operates the only colored drug store in the county.

He was married to Miss Elizabeth Allen in 1909.

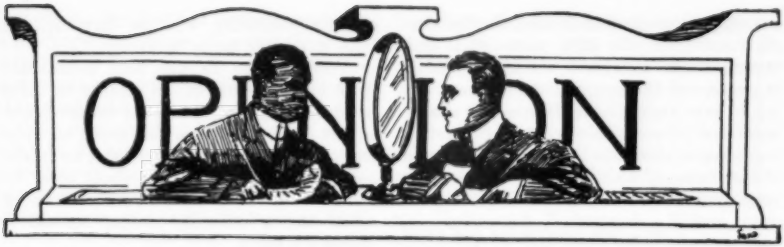
A JUSTICE OF THE PEACE

MR. A. BURRELL, a colored man of Carney Iowa, was born in Virginia as a slave and is about sixty years of age. He came to Iowa in 1880 and lives in Crocker Township where there are about two hundred and fifty voting farmers and about two hundred Negro and foreign miners. He has served for two years as Justice of the Peace and has just been re-elected over a white opponent by a good majority to serve until January, 1915. He is a miner and farmer. He produces eighty bushels of corn to the acre and he has just bought two and one-half acres to add to his four and one-half at $350 per acre.

He is a good specimen of the quiet, thrifty, honest Negro working man.

MR. A. BURRELL

RESIDENCE OF DR. BOWDEN, GRIFFIN, GA.



MR. TROTTER AND MR. WILSON

WHAT MR. TROTTER SAID.

"Mr. President, we are here to renew our protest against the segregation of colored employes in the departments of our National Government. Mr. President, one year ago the sixth of this month we came before you as a delegation of this same organization, now the National Independent Equal Rights League, and presented a national petition, signed by colored Americans in thirty-eight states, protesting against the segregation of employes of the National Government whose ancestry could be traced in whole or in part to Africa, as instituted under your administration. We then appealed to you to undo this race segregation in accord with your duty as President and with your pre-election pledges to colored American voters. We stated that such segregation was a public humiliation and degradation, and entirely unmerited and far-reaching in its injurious effects, a gratuitous blow against ever loyal citizens and against those, many of whom have aided and supported your elevation to the Presidency of our common country." Mr. Trotter named the various departments in which segregation is still in force.

"Hence we come to you, Mr. President, by vote of this league, to set before you this definite continuance of race segregation against us a year after you heard our protest and seemed to heed our appeal, to renew the protest and appeal to ask you to entirely abolish segregation of Afro-American employes in the executive departments."

WHAT MR. WILSON SAID.

"In reply the President said that after our last visit he and his cabinet officers had investigated as he promised, and cabinet officers told him the segregation was caused by friction between colored and white clerks, and not done to injure or humiliate the colored clerks, but to avoid friction. Members of the cabinet had assured him that the colored clerks would have comfortable conditions, though separated. He had taken their view that the segregation was the best way to meet this situation and that the best thought of the administration has so decided.

"The white people of the country," the President continued, "as well as I, wish to see the colored people progress, and admire the progress they have already made, and want to see them continue along independent lines. There is, however, a great prejudice against colored people, but as Mr. Spencer says, we are all colored, but I mean those of African descent. It will take one hundred years to eradicate this prejudice, and we must deal with it as practical men. Segregation is not humiliating but a benefit, and ought to be so regarded by you gentlemen. If your organization goes out and tells the colored people of the country that it is a humiliation, they will so regard it, but if you do not tell them so, and regard it rather as a benefit, they will regard it the same. The only harm that will come will be if you cause them to think it is a humiliation."

MR. TROTTER'S REPLY.

"Mr. President, we did not come to the White House as delegates of the National Independent Equal Rights League protesting the segregation in the attitude of dependent wards of the nation, but as full-fledged American citizens, absolutely equal with all others, to demand our equal rights under the Constitution. It is not in accord with the known facts to claim that the segregation was started because of race friction of the white and colored clerks. The indisputable facts of the situation will not permit of the claim that the segregation is due to the friction. It is untenable, in view of the established facts, to maintain that the segregation

is simply to avoid race friction, for the simple reason that for fifty years white and colored clerks have been working together in peace and harmony and friendliness, doing so even through two Democratic administrations. Soon after your inauguration began segregation was drastically introduced in the Treasury and Postal departments by your appointees."

THE QUARREL. Then I was interrupted and given the rebuke when the President said: "If this organization is ever to have another hearing before me it must have another spokesman. Your manner offends me."

I was thunderstruck. I immediately asked in what way I was offensive, and the Chief Executive replied:

"Your tone, with its background of passion."

I then said, "But I have no passion in me, Mr. President, you are entirely mistaken; you misinterpret my earnestness for passion."

I then continued my rebuttal and was interrupted by the President, especially when I told him that we could not control the minds of the colored people, and would not if we could on the segregation question. I continued saying: "Two years ago you were regarded as a second Abraham Lincoln," when he stopped me and said he wanted no personal reference. I told him if he would allow me to continue he would see my intent. He said he "was the one to do the interrupting and not me."

I then concluded by saying, "Now we colored leaders are denounced in the colored churches as traitors to our race. "What do you mean by traitors?" inquired the President, and I replied, "Because we supported the Democratic ticket in 1912."

COMMENT. We have given above Mr. Trotter's account of the curious incident which brings us comments from all over the nation. First, as to facts, we quote a Socialist, Morris Williams, writing in the New York *Call*.

"President Wilson has had an opportunity to show himself a great man—and he failed. That man of such promise, of so much intelligence, with an opportunity to write himself down as a President a thousand times greater than the petty party that he came from, fell down. His party is too powerful. Without that party he feels that he cannot advance politically, and he dares not do right when that party is wrong.

"Twice before he has been tested, and twice before he has failed because he dared not dare his party. Twice the women bearded him in his den, twice they asked his opinion, the opinion of an honest and an intelligent man, what he thought about votes for women. And both times he made an undignified and a cowardly dodge, because he feared his party.

"This time he had a greater opportunity in that he had a chance to do something far more unpopular than indorse votes for women. That cause has millions of active friends. The cause of the Negro has very few friends. And least of all has it friends among the Democratic party, coming as it does mainly from the Bourbon South.

"I, who write this, write with feeling. I know whereof I speak. For a number of years I was employed in the government department in Washington, meeting there men and women of both colors, of all kinds from North and South. I know the situation in the government offices, and I know the Negro officeholder. I know the brutal, the fiendish, the savage persecution of the Negro in the South, rivaling as it does the treatment of the Jews in Russia. I know it, not having read of it in a book, but from having seen it.

"Many times did I surrender, with little enough regret, the friendship of my office associates, and of many others, because I was naive enough, democratic enough, Socialist enough, human enough, to regard the Negro as a human, as a brother and often as a Comrade in our movement. Often enough did I suffer, together with my wife, because we did not believe the Constitution to be a lie, our proud boast nothing but sham, and our liberty a jest. And so we know. And we know that nowhere is there such cruelty as there is in the capital city to a persecuted race."

* * * * * * * * *

"You cannot beat the civil service rules. If Maggie O'Rafferty happens to head a stenographers' list you must appoint her, even if you come from Georgia, and if you find out (as one Southern official found out of a girl of that name) that she is as black as ink there is no redress. It is written. It is the law.

"In the government offices there was a technical equality. The Negro clerks had to eat in inferior saloons, they had to herd by

themselves. But they sat in the same rooms as the "superior" whites. It galled the whites if they came from Georgia or Alabama. I have known men from the South to refuse to go to work with Negroes—who happened to be their intellectual and their moral superiors—in the same room. Until it was impressed upon them that they needn't, that there were thousands of others who were as willing and as able to do the work as they, and who did not have those compunctions.

"Then came the Democratic party into power. That party was led by men of the type of J. Thomas Heflin, hater of labor, oppressor of Negroes; men like the Hon. Pitchfork Ben Tillman; men like J. K. Vardaman, whose motto it is that 'this is a white man's country;' men like John Sharp Williams; the finest group of nigger baiters the country has ever produced. They say they speak for the South—and the South does not say them nay. They fulminate, they wave the bloody shirt, they nulify the Constitution, they beat and degrade and terrify and enslave 10,000,000 men of our fellow citizens; they make of our great profession of liberty and equality a fraud. They say they are the South. They announce that they speak for that great section of the country. And that section does not rise up as one man and deny the hellish insult.

"That is the party of Woodrow Wilson. That is the party that made him President. Their chief strength came from the South; without the South—the White South (for all elections are white men's elections)—Woodrow Wilson would never have become President. Without the aid of the party of those men, the cultured Wilson would never have ascended to the Presidency. And so there are political debts to pay.

"The bulk of the party comes from the South. The largest part of the Cabinet officers are Southerners. The bureau chiefs are now largely Southerners. Men of the inferior calibre of William J. Harris, the 'original Wilson man of Georgia,' of absolutely no ability, supplant geniuses in highly technical positions such as the directorship of the census.

"The inevitable followed. Negroes were segregated from the whites in the government offices. The Jim Crowism of the government began. Those who knew saw imminent the casting out of all Negro employes. And I, who know, can say that the service will suffer immensely by the institution of the Southern heelers, men almost illiterate, men who think that they are still fighting the Civil War, for the cultured Negroes who have fought their way up against such unparalleled odds.

"So they went to Wilson. Wilson the cultured, Wilson the Democrat, Wilson the pride of America. And Wilson bethought himself of Tillman and Blease and Bailey and Heflin and Underwood. Wilson was confronted by the choice of rescinding the order segregating the races, and bringing down upon himself a whirlwind, and of supporting hideous wrong, fastening upon the limbs of virtual slaves still more strongly the shackles of degradation and passing it on with a meaningless platitude.

"So Wilson was weighed in the balance. He was faced by the great opportunity. AND HE FAILED!

"He murmured some fatuous rubbish about reducing the "friction" between the races in the offices, that the offices that were assigned to the Negroes were "as good" as those assigned to the whites, and that they had nothing to complain about. And that is what is said of every bit of injustice that is inflicted upon the under dog—that it is good for them; that they ought to appreciate it.

"So the Southerners were upheld, the government is officially on a par with railroads that have Jim Crow cars, the President either wrote himself down as one of the oppressors, or he groveled before them. And real Americans may hang their heads in shame before the whole world."

NORTHERN OPINION. The northern press has stood up with unusual vigor. The *New Republic* says: "it does not seem obviously appropriate for the President of the United States to complain of the 'intolerable burden' of his own office to Negroes who daily suffer burdens more intolerable, who come to the President with real grievances due to the President's own inaction in a moral crisis. The President waives aside all references to consideration of political support by Negroes as 'blackmail,' but the President before his election sought that support, and sought it with explicit promises which Negroes and others believe have not been kept. 'Should I become President of the United States,' he said during the campaign of 1912, 'they (the colored people) may count upon me for absolute fair dealing and for everything by which I could assist

in advancing the interest of this race in the United States.' What the President has as yet done in advancing this interest he does not state; what he intends to do in the future he does not state. But he does express his unwillingness to interfere with Southern members of his Cabinet, who are segregating colored employes, setting apart Federal civil servants with Negro blood in them as though they were lepers, a humiliation which is bitterly resented by colored people throughout the country and deplored by thousands of high-minded white people, yet one which the President finds words to condone. The President used fair words in 1912 in his appeal to the Negroes for votes. We know now that those words meant nothing."

Then comes a number of papers who we let speak for themselves.

"The Constitution defines the place of the Negro in our citizenship. The Negro clerk in Washington is entitled to precisely the same treatment that any other clerk receives. He has had it under Republican government without friction and without any suspicion that he was being injured by the failure of the government to segregate him. No prejudice has been shown him by this administration in the departments over which Mr. Bryan of Nebraska, Mr. Garrison of New Jersey and Mr. Lane of California preside. It is the Southern secretaries who discovered that Jim Crow regulations were necessary. Does the President of the United States approve their exhibition of prejudice against the Negro?"—Syracuse (N. Y.) *Post Standard.*

"The whole thing now laid before us is a typically Southern issue, treated by the government in a typically Southern way. Mr. Wilson's attitude toward this race-segregation is, without question, perfectly honest, just as it is in the case of other gentlemen with Southern traditions bred in the bone. The slave-holders were not less honest in their contention 60 years ago. But the grave question presented is whether the President of the United States, in taking this view, is living up to the constitution of his country, which he is bound by oath to recognize and uphold. The constitution may err in its attempt to give all men, of whatever race and color, an equal political right with every other race. But at least it is the law of the land and as such is not to be nullified by any individual who happens to believe that in this respect the constitution is unwisely drawn."—Lowell (Mass.) *Courier Citizen.*

"Perhaps the language of the spokesman was not tactful. Perhaps the President's suave, pleasant words and promises regarding fair and equitable treatment proved a bit irritating when contrasted with conditions as they exist and as the President knows they have existed for years. 'The systematic denial of manhood rights to black men in America is the crying disgrace of the century.' These are the words of the editor of THE CRISIS, perhaps the ablest champion of his race."—Boston, (Mass.) *Traveler and Evening Herald.*

"The principle seems clear. The people of the United States as a whole would oppose the adoption by their Government of anything resembling the Jim Crow policy. If States, cities, or private corporations see fit to do this, that is their own affair. But the national Government must keep free from it, not primarily because the policy is bad for the Negroes, but because it is bad for the Government."—*Indianapolis News* (Ind.).

"That is to say, the colored people ask their rights and the President answers that he feels very kindly towards them and while he cannot consider giving them those he is favorable to the idea of giving them something else about as good, if they can only be induced to think it so. They demand equal treatment as citizens of the republic. He says no, we must screen you off, but we will make things comfortable for you behind the screen. But you don't do that, they answer, for Semitic, Celtic, Slavic or any other class of employes. No, replies the President, but we do it with you, and I cannot discuss the matter any further with you."—*Post Express* (Rochester, N. Y.).

"At the National capital sits a Congress elected by the suppression of nearly a majority of the votes of the Southern States. It is a dishonestly elected Congress, and every American knows it. This is flaunting a great National scandal constantly before the eyes of every intelligent citizen of the United States.

"In such fashion, the conscience of the nation is being tested. For ourselves, we have no doubt whatever that, in the end, most Americans will demand that this festering sore of criminality in the National government shall be cured; that the caustic remedy demanded by the Constitution of the

United States (the reduction of the representation of all States where this dishonesty is open and flagrant) shall be applied. The only question is, how much longer shall the scandal be allowed to exist in its rank and shameless dishonesty?"—*Advertiser* (Boston, Mass.).

"The President, a man of southern birth and broad principles, should lose no time in ordering the rescinding of the McAdoo and Burleson orders. The race-hatred fomenters will accept from him action they would blindly oppose if it came from a president of northern birth. He has a chance, just as the Negro orator declared, to be a second Abraham Lincoln by starting and leading a movement that will emancipate the race from disabilities under which it now labors, even as it was emancipated fifty years ago from involuntary servitude. The first and greatest of progressive principles is equality before the law."—*Evening Globe* (New York City).

"However that may be, this delegation was within its rights in making its protest. If political conditions and consequences were introduced into the plea or argument, it was not 'blackmail,' as the President indignantly termed it, more than was the threat of Representative Henry in his demand for cotton legislation, the demand of labor and its responsive sop in the Clayton bill, or many another dicker in the routine of the Presidential life."—*Bulletin* (Philadelphia, Pa.).

"The race affected had a right to be heard in their own behalf and showed a proper spirit in going directly to the President with their grievance. We fear that the President has lost his head. He is certainly not so happy in these extempore statements, made under the irritation that so easily besets him as in his more studied deliverances which compel the admiration even of his political opponents and often skillfully cover up the fallacies of his reasoning and hide from view the mischievous character of the policy he is commending."—*Press* (Philadelphia, Pa.).

"The incident recalls the similar vexation shown by the President when he abruptly dismissed an equal suffrage delegation on June 30 on the ground that he could not 'submit to cross-examination.' When a man is right, he usually will listen patiently to the other side; when he knows he is wrong, he is very likely to fly off the handle."—*New York Mail.*

"After their visit to the White House the members of that anti-segregation deputation must have come to the conclusion that the great mistake made by American Negroes is in not having had themselves born Filipinos or Mexican Indians."—*New York Herald.*

"That there was reason for the President's ill temper is quite true, but it was supplied by the Cabinet members who were responsible for the narrow-minded policy of segregating Negro employes from white jobholders."—*New York Mail.*

"It may be as claimed that the spokesman of the colored delegates that recently interviewed President Wilson for the purpose of protesting against the segregation of the colored clerks in the U. S. departments at Washington did not treat the President with proper respect, and deserved the rebuke he received; but it is a fact, nevertheless, that the protest was against a shameful outrage."—*Express* (Penn Yan, N. Y.).

"We had supposed, after the investigations of last winter, that the vicious policy had been checked; we understood that it was to be abandoned gradually. In numerous instances the Jim-Crowing had, we know, been stopped. The more discouraging is it to find the President apparently upholding what the *World* justly calls the "foolish indiscretions of members of his Cabinet." There was no genuine complaint as to the conditions in Washington. Colored and white employes had worked side by side for fifty years. Some of them had been appointed by Grover Cleveland—one of his appointees to high place being the father of Mr. Trotter, a veteran of the Fifty-fifth Massachusetts. But the Wilson Administration went out of its way to create the issue it now deplores, and cannot see its way clear to admitting its mistake and reverting to the only defensible position of absolute equality in the Government service."—*Evening Post* (New York City).

"The Negro race in this country is the political equal of the white race, under the Federal Constitution, and while the 'Jim Crow' status and 'grandfather' suffrage laws of various States have stood the test of judicial review, segregation in the Washington departments unquestionably violates the spirit of the Constitution, whatever shift for the Government the courts may find in its letter. That the nation-wide public sentiment outside of Washington itself sustains classification of this character in Government departments is not susceptible of proof. The southern influence now dominating those de-

partments is simply asserting its power by introducing the cruelest southern customs into the Government of the whole people."—*Springfield Republican* (Ill.).

"It is desirable that the nation know the President, and that some false notions as to his absolute poise and ideal judicial demeanor be removed. He did not keep his temper yesterday; he showed not the control of the school-master, but the pettishness of the schoolboy. He would never have rebuked white callers in the superior way he did his black ones. It is evident that Hon. Woodrow Wilson has yet a good deal to learn of the great lesson of the brotherhood of mankind."—*Register* (New Haven, Conn.).

"We once knew a southern attorney; one of the finest men who ever lived. In discussing the Negro problem at one time, reference was made to his colored clients. They entered his office as did white clients, they came to him personally, explained their case, he gave advice, accepted their money, became their attorney and appeared for them in court.

"But when it was hypothetically stated: 'They come to your desk in your office and sit down,' the reply came instantly and sharply. 'Not by a ——— sight; no Negro sits in my office.' We know of no better illustration of the southern attitude toward the Negro. It is tolerant, helpful, even kindly and thankful, until some approach is made that savors of social contact or recognition. Then the bars are clamped."—*Duluth News Tribune* (Minn.).

"President Wilson was not frank when he suggested to the delegation of visiting Negro leaders that segregation in the departments had been resorted to to make the Negro independent of the white race.

"Segregation has been resorted to because the southern leaders in Congress are bound to have the Negro eliminated from the public service in any but a menial capacity."—*Register Leader* (Des Moines, Iowa).

"The reason given for segregation is nothing but an excuse of the hollowest kind, which ignores notorious facts."—*Oregonian* (Portland, Ore.).

THE COPPER HEADS

"The Negroes called to protest against the segregation of colored employes in some of the Federal departments. In presenting such a protest, they asked for a consideration that has not been asked for by recognized leaders of their race—such as Booker Washington, and those who are most directly concerned with the cause of Negro education in the South. White men are freer and more contented when they work by themselves. Negroes are freer and more contented when they work by themselves. Forcing white and black to mix in employment, where no real necessity for mixing exists, is hurtful to the self-respect and efficiency of both."—*Daily Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.).

"The President explained to its members that the rule was one of convenience and expediency, to avoid friction between the races. We can all perceive its wisdom and justification, excepting those Negroes who insist upon thrusting themselves into white company. The rule involves no political ostracism. The colored Treasury employes can continue to serve the government and draw their salaries. There is nothing in the Constitution or the various Civil Rights' acts that compels white men to associate with Negroes in the civil service, any more than in business or social life. Secretary McAdoo has doubtless found that detachment of the colored from the white employes of his department would insure the smoother working and greater efficiency of its official machinery."—*Herald* (Syracuse, N. Y.).

"Booker Washington answered the segregation question by saying that the colored man ought not to wish to associate with a white man who did not want him and that the colored man ought to insist just as strenuously that the white man should not be allowed to associate with him. As long as there is a clash of the races they should be kept apart and the keeping apart should not reflect upon one race any more than it does upon the other."—*Journal* (Meriden, Conn.).

THE SOUTH.

"The incident developed out of the undertaking of the present administration to rectify the evils existing in various departments at Washington arising out of the employment of both whites and blacks in the same rooms and bureaus. During the early days of this administration, Mrs. Wilson was reported to have observed with her own eyes some of the hardships of white women in having to work beside Negro men. Naturally, with her refined breeding and Southern rearing, she perceived the dangers of that situation. It had grown more and more aggravated during

various Republican administrations, when that Party's leadership was so abject in its submission to Negro dictation arising out of political conditions in the East and West. This was thoroughly illustrated by Mr. Roosevelt's conspicuous knocking under to a delegation of Negro leaders, who protested against his original attempt to rid the Southern Republican organization of the incubus of Negro influence."—*News* (Birmingham, Ala.).

"There is no injustice in the separation of the races in the federal departments so long as it does not carry with it unequal accommodations or unequal official privilege. It involves no more hardship on one race than the other. The white people do not complain of this separation; why do the Negroes? Social equality they will never gain in the South, and never generally in the North, and the sooner they have the good sense to realize this, and the race pride to make them regard the question with indifference, the sooner they will command public respect. William Monroe Trotter, of Boston, and others of his kind are rendering their people a notably bad service by such insolent performances as that at the White House- Thursday."—Baltimore (Md.) *Sun.*

"We should really like to know just how many Negro reporters are on the staff of *The Evening Post* and *The World.* We should like to know how many Negro editorial writers are on the staff of each of these papers. If there are no Negro employes in either of these important departments of our contemporaries, we should like to know why it is so? Why are not half of their reporters and editors Negroes? Why don't they give their theories a real test?

"But they will not do this. They are hyprocrites, steeped in prejudice, and in the single matter of real knowledge of the races and their true relations to each other, are little less than ignoramuses, for all of their splendid ability and talents in other respects."—*Advertiser* (Montgomery, Ala.).

"Trotter has been trained to regard himself as an equal. Visit Florida in the winter. You will see the 'Yankees' address a white laborer as an inferior, and yet in intercourse with the commonest blacks address them very deferentially as 'Mister' and 'Mrs.' The Negro will always grab an 'ell' if you grant him an inch. The people have yielded to Negro assumption so far that he feels he has won a victory over the superior race. Nowhere on the cars, on the streets, do Negroes even act on a plane of equals, but as superiors.

"Do we not every day truckle to our inferiors, and the Negroes see it? Farmers needing labor truckle to him, the storekeeper does the same, the politicians pat him on the back, so that the Negro's attitude has been changed towards the whites. No outward signs of deference; they are studiously omitted. The evident intent is to assert not equality, but superiority."—*Telegraph* (Macon, Ga.).

"While agitators of the Trotter stripe and certain of their political inciters will doubtless strive to make capital of it, the episode will react to the sole injury of the Trotter cause. Race instinct has quickened wonderfully throughout the white North in recent years. Insistent and offensive demands for racial social equality by self-styled Negro leaders, and the attempts at offensive assertion of their imagined "rights" are largely responsible for the race clashes recorded in more than a few Northern states."—*Times Picayune* (New Orleans, La.).

"The 'Lexington, Ky., *Herald*' thinks that the President's treatment of the Trotter, colored, visiting committee, was 'peculiarly unfortunate,' but the 'El Paso, Texas, *Times*' says Trotter is a 'Jamaica coon,' who would be made to demonstrate that he was truly a 'trotter,' if he should visit 'any representative southern community.'"—*Courant* (Hartford, Conn.).

"The little bunch of Boston niggers that made the 'protest' against the attitude of President Wilson in refusing to be called down by them, do not represent the respectable, self-respecting, law abiding colored people of the United States, who are not worrying about 'race equality.' The Tucker darkey who tried to 'sass' the President is not a Booker T. Washington type of colored man. He is merely a nigger."—Beaumont (Tex.) *Enterprise.*

THE NEW SOUTH.

"At what point will the government as government stop the segregation of different races? As we conceive the purpose of this government, it is to treat every individual as equal before the eyes of the law—black, or white, red or yellow, Jew or Gentile, Protestant or Catholic—whatever the breed, whatever the creed, matters not, at least should matter not to the public official charged with the duty of serving all the people.

"The humblest American citizens of full

Negro blood is in the eyes of the law the full equal of the most powerful citizen of the purest Anglo-Saxon descent. The public servant elected by the people, paid by the people, owes to the humblest citizen the same protection and the same treatment accorded to the most powerful. Neither breed nor creed, neither culture nor vocation, should determine the treatment accorded to a citizen by a servant.

"We are distressed that the President has allied himself with those who believe in the perpetuation of race prejudice and justify race passion. As a private citizen, every man has the right to determine his own course; as a public official, the higher the office the greater the obligation to act with justice and treat with patience those who must look to the public officer for the protection the law.

"It is but a step in descent from the position taken by those public officials in Washington who segregate one race to the public official in a southern state who advocates lynch law. The example of the higher official will be cited by the lower official as justification for his course. The mob of the South that lynches in the night is but a step further than the official order that segregates because of color in the day."—Lexington (Ky.) *Herald.*

"The Courier-Journal agrees with the New York *World* that the 'segregation' business over in Washington spells rather small. During fifty years, including two Democratic Presidential terms, there was no thought of separating the white and black official sheep. Why should the suggestion meet the assent of anybody now?

"The President acted with entire propriety in calling down the impudent Negro who acted as spokesman for the committee of colored protestants. It seems that he is a well-known professional agitator from Boston who was once imprisoned for breaking up a Booker Washington meeting. The lesson he received may not do him any good. But it ought to impress itself upon all who fail to recognize the sanctity of the White House and the dignity of its occupant.

"The segregation order should be revoked. It has no real cause or interest to back it. The issue should not have been raised. Having rebuked Trotter, let Mr. Wilson take matters further into his own hands, and restore the status quo."—*Courier Journal* (Louisville, Ky.).

THE COLORED PRESS.

"Trotter was undoubtedly rash, and entered upon his duty without any diplomacy whatever, but the President can not escape the suspicion that he seized the opportunity to evade the issue by hiding behind Trotter's ultra-zealous attitude; that he purposely subordinated the interests of ten million American citizens to his own established code of White House formalities, and magnified the latter as a justification of his evasion of his plain duty toward the former,—all under the guise of an imaginary offense to the dignity of his office."—Pittsburgh (Pa.) *Courier.*

"The unfortunate part of the situation is that the President was insulted and stated that no man had spoken to him since he had been elected as had this Boston Negro and, therefore, whenever the Negroes came to the White House again during his occupancy, they must have another spokesman. The attitude of this leader, in itself, seemed to be a good argument for segregation."—Louisville (Ky.) *News.*

"While the whole incident is a regretable one from some angles we are of the opinion that good to the race at large, will come out of it by causing influential journals throughout the country to condemn the un-American policy now endorsed by the Administration."—*The Messenger* (Charlottesville, Va.).

"We recall with a degree of disgust that under circumstances when Trotter and his gang were in the position of hosts, they played the role of bullies and Bowery toughs nearly breaking up a meeting at which Dr. Booker T. Washington was the chief speaker, the leading Mr. Trotter spent 30 days' time in jail for his offense. We are tempted to give expression to the wish that Trotter and his Northern zealots would let Negro affairs alone if they can do no more than bungle them up.

"There is not another Negro in the whole race who would have committed such a performance."—Birmingham (Ala.) *Reporter.*

"But we have never known Mr. Trotter to lose his head in any controversy, or to forget his duty as a cultured Christian gentleman. It may be true that his earnestness was mistaken for temper, or perhaps for an inexcusable failure to properly realize his 'place' when speaking in the presence of or to a 'white man.' The horrible image of a 'sassy nigger' may have been focussed in a greatly magnified and chromatic field, but

we are sure that it was the result of some form of aberration we know not what."—*The Bee* (Washington, D. C.).

"One has only to be at the national capital and see what is going on to be convinced of this. It is not a party fight, and partisan lines should be ignored. The danger is through the federal government and we are all citizens of it and should all exert a pressure upon the federal government, both direct and through others. We appeal to the race to realize the danger and to exert their powers as citizens at once and as never before. We can win if we will work."—*The Guardian* (Boston, Mass.).

"When the same Wm. Monroe Trotter and a few of his associates who supported Wilson, called upon the Governor in 1912 at Trenton, they were received with open arms and the glad, grasping hand so fraternally extended. Promises, many promises, sweet promises, made to the ear, but to be broken to the heart, were eagerly made, not alone with the tongue, but with the pen. The Christian Governor of New Jersey, pledged himself as a Christian man that the Negro had nothing to fear, for should he be elected president, they would receive Christian treatment and should hold under his administration, all the offices or as many offices as they were holding under the then Taft administration."—*St. Luke Herald* (Richmond, Va.).

The Washington *Bee* thus comments on the Hampton defense of President Wilson:

"The milk of the quotation consists in the following: 'I think one of the happiest circumstances of recent times is this co-operation between the white people and the Negroes in the South in intelligent efforts to advance the economic success and comfort of the Negroes and put them in a position where they can work out their own fortunes with success and self-respect.' That the President's attitude is clearly stated in the above quotation there is small reason to doubt, and to that extent we certainly agree with Mr. Aery. But as to whether the President's attitude is the correct one, or whether it comports with the actual conditions obtaining, in the main, at the South, or whether it is in harmony with the social forces calculated to produce the ultimate results he seems to desire, are questions upon which there is large room for differences of opinion. The supposition that the 'economic success and comfort' of the colored people can be reasonably expected under the general policy of the South, which is being encouraged by the President and more and more rigorously applied than at any time since Emancipation, tending to discourage and repress every manifestation of aspiration for political and civil equality, becomes manifestly illogical, if not preposterous in the light of the true significance of 'economic success and comfort.'"

OUR QUESTIONNAIRE

THE BOURBON SOUTH.

"In order to secure information for Negro voters the 'National Association for the Advancement of Colored People' has sent a 'questionnaire' to every congressional nominee, according to the New York *Evening Post*, which publishes the queries and reports on the responses of the nineteen New York candidates heard from. . . .

"This report is highly interesting, both as a revelation of the purposes and threatening attitude of the 'National Association for the Advancement of Colored People' and as proof of the yielding to the pressure of the Negro vote in the doubtful States on the part of a considerable number of politicians who, if left free, would undoubtedly respond to their normal instincts in opposition to the abnormal intermarriage of distinct races.

"The most important means of 'advancing colored people,' in the view of the 'National Association' for the purpose, is to marry them to the whites, it would appear, and, in order to secure the Negro vote, a considerable number of New York candidates are willing to be advertised as favoring such a policy. And yet the idea is monstrous, contrary to nature, and opposed to every normal instinct implanted in the several distinct varieties of mankind.

"There must be very good reasons why there are some half dozen grand divisions of the human race, set apart by color and other distinctive racial characteristics, and there are equally good reasons why it is undesirable for all these distinct races to become merged into one mongrel type; otherwise all mankind from the outset would have been of one color and of a general likeness varying only in individuals. Nature itself has set up a barrier opposed to such a mongrelization and inevitable deterioration, and this barrier is what we call racial aversion or race prejudice, which, when it does not lead to wrong or crime, is in itself a per-

fectly normal, innocent and desirable thing." Macon (Ga.) *Daily Telegraph.*

THE BOSTON SONGS

NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN OPINION.

"In eliminating the objectionable song books from the institutions under their control the Boston school committee have affirmed a principle and made a contribution to social peace. The meanest kind of disparagement is that of epithets aimed at race, nationality or creed, and the subjection of children to it on the ground of their color would have been a flat negation of everything there is of humane in our educational system. And the successful protest just registered is by no means the end of the good work. The colored people are especially sensitive, and have a right to be. They are not the only sufferers."—Boston (Mass.) *Herald.*

"Boston culture is getting to be a nuisance, due largely to the fact that as Bostonians become 'cultured' they do not lose any of their stupidity.

"If the point raised by the Boston Negroes and whites were submitted to a referendum of Southern Negroes and their best friends, the Southern people, there would be about six votes in each State cast in line with the Boston demand.

"Take out of the hearts of men 'My Old Kentucky Home,' 'Massa's in De Cold, Cold Ground,' 'Suwanee River,' and a few others, and some of the sweetest, fondest, recollections of the Southern plantation Negro would be wiped away.

"The folklore songs of the South, the best of which were written by a sympathetic Northerner, the plantation melodies, the delicious Negro dialect, picturing as they do the simple emotions, strange superstitions, the melancholy and the gladness of the Negro heart—these must stand. They will stand. Any literature in which the Negro is portrayed must give place to these 'insults,' if the truth be told. If the Negro be not forgotten he must be pictured as he is and he has always been, for, if we abolish folklore songs with their comedy, their pathos, their abiding sentimentality, there is no charm in any part of any study of the Negro race.

"The Negroes of the South and the white people of the South have decided that they love the melodies and stories which the beaneating, calculus-workers of Boston condemn, and no resolution can stop our song."—Montgomery (Ala.) *Advertiser.*

A BOURBON AT BAY

The New York *World* has the following report of the last dinner of the Southern Society in New York:

"John Skelton Williams, Comptroller of the Currency, brought up the race question by declaring in his address:

"'All other issues have appeared to us light and negligible when white supremacy was threatened. Happily such fears are now no more to be regarded than as a frightful dream. Our constitutional conventions in the different States have so limited and safeguarded the right of suffrage in an effort to secure an enlightened electorate, that Negro rule has ceased to be a menace.

"'Long ago we determined that the Negro should never be our master; that we would work with him and help him and let him help and work with us, but that, as a social and political equal, the best interests of both races and of the country demanded stern, final and definite prohibition. The dignity, welfare and prosperity of the two races and of the entire country are and will be promoted by the policy of strict segregation.'

"Former Attorney-General George W. Wickersham took suave but pointed issue with this declaration.

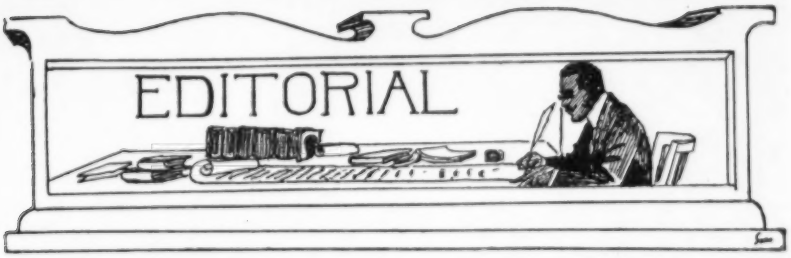
"'I do not believe,' he said, 'that this problem will ever be solved by the total disfranchisement for all time of 10,000,000 of our citizens. No people can thrive and advance if, side by side and working with them, are 10,000,000 who are disfranchised from all voice in government.

"'God knows that this is a difficult problem and God knows how it will be solved, but it cannot be solved by denying to any, be he black or yellow or red, the right of a voice in making the laws by which he shall be governed and in the choice of the men who shall govern him.'

"Then turning toward the Comptroller, Mr. Wickersham concluded earnestly:

"'Believe me, this problem is not solved by the method you offer.'

"It was notable that while Mr. Williams had been heard through without applause, Mr. Wickersham was twice interrupted by handclapping."



CORRESPONDENCE

PRESIDENT Woodrow Wilson.

My dear Sir:

Enclosed are three editorials from the New York *World*, the *Tribune* and the *Post*, bearing on the recent interview of a representative of the National Independent Political League at the White House.

This Association does not for a moment excuse any rudeness or lack of courtesy to you who above all others are entitled to respect, but wishes to place itself on record as agreeing with Mr. Trotter that the slightest discrimination against colored people in the federal service is a grave injustice.

Respectfully yours,

(Signed) J. E. SPINGARN,

Chairman of the Board of Directors.

FROM THE BOSTON "GLOBE."

THE following editorial on "The Alleged Failure of Democracy" was written by the editor of THE CRISIS and printed in the Boston Sunday *Globe:*

We are becoming more democratic, but not easily, not without struggle and misgivings. Our progress seems even slower than it is because we have really experienced so little real democracy in the past. We founded a republic in 1787 which was in reality an aristocracy of the most pronounced tendencies. The democracy ushered in by Andrew Jackson was the beginning of that system of government by deception where "the people" are congratulated on the possession of all powers of government, while the real rulers hide in the background so effectually that their very existence often is not sensed. Since the Civil War we have driven these rulers into the open, and frankly acknowledged, weighed and studied their power.

From this knowledge we have started well on the way toward dethroning the ward heeler and the petty boss, and are hammering at the strongholds of the greater bosses. Our real difficulty comes in settling in our own minds a proper, permanent repository for the power thus regained. In other words, we are facing to-day still the elementary problem of democracy: How far do we dare trust the mass of the people, not with sham power and sounding phrases, but with real power?

Those on the one hand who call for commission government, and those on the other hand who ask for the initiative and the recall represent the two different answers to this problem. True it is, that there are those far-sighted ones who combine both demands. For the most part, however, we may distinguish those who would deposit the power won from the bosses with one or more strong men for safekeeping; and those who would try and place that power just as far as possible in the hands of the masses.

There can be no doubt that the former type of thinkers gains great strength and support from the supposed failure of certain democratic experiments in the past, particularly in the case of the foreign vote in our cities and of the Negro vote during reconstruction times. The alleged failure of democracy in reconstruction times especially has been used in the past and is still used as a tremendous argument against democracy in the nation and in the world. The argument runs something like this: "Ignorant freedmen failed as voters. This proves that democratic government cannot rest on ignorance." But how much learning is necessary to a share

Drawn by Paul Thiriat

THE DESPERATE ATTEMPT OF GENERAL VON KLUK T

This picture drawn by the special artist for THE CRISIS, the New York *Herald*, and the London *Sph* found themselves hemmed in by the Allies at Germigny l'Eveque, near Varreddes, during the battle one of th way through the town black Colonial troops armed with long French bayonets charged them. For sho After many had been slain on both sides the Germans retreated.

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LUCK TO BREAK THE ALLIED LINE ON THE MARNE

don *Sphere*, shows an incident of the fighting on the Marne. When German forces under General von Kluck one of the most desperate hand to hand encounters of the war occurred. As the Germans were making their or short time the Germans withstood the onslaught, the fighting taking place between blazing houses.

in the government? Immediately our ideas enlarge: "Government is for the educated and the expert. It is a reward, not a right. Democracy is an evolution that may come to fruition in a thousand years. To-day we need the strength and efficiency found only in a few." In the face of such argument it is high time that the people of this country asked themselves seriously two questions: What is democracy? Did democracy fail in reconstruction?

Democracy is not a gift of power, but a reservoir of knowledge. Only the soul that suffers knows its suffering. Only the one who needs knows what need means. Ignorance may vitiate the expression of needs and vice may deceive, but it remains true that despotism and aristocracy have displayed far more ignorance of the real needs of the people than the most ignorant of democracies. The people alone are the sources of that real knowledge which enables a State to be ruled for the best good of its inhabitants. And only by putting power in the hands of each inhabitant can we hope to approximate in the ultimate use of that power the greatest good to the greatest number.

Seldom in the history of the world has this great truth been so well proved as in the experience of the American Negro. Without civil or political rights, and admitting every claim of benevolence on the part of his master, he became a slave, whose very existence threatened the industrial and spiritual life of the nation. Emancipated and given a vote, despite his ignorance and inexperience, he gave the South three gifts, so valuable that no one to-day would dream of giving them up:

1. The public-school system.
2. The enfranchisement of the poor whites.
3. The beginning of modern social legislation in land reform, eleemosynary institutions and social uplift.

The Negro was not disfranchised because he had failed in democratic government, but because there was every reason to believe that he would succeed, and it was his success which the beaten masters feared more than his failure.

Having disfranchised him with this fiction of failure, that same fiction is being used to-day to discredit democracy throughout the nation, to stop the just enfranchisement of women, to curtail the power of the foreign born and their descendants, and to support the argument in the twentieth century that the democratic ideals of the nineteenth century were in vain.

To the help of this program comes the wholesale exploitation and despising of colored races and the suicidal career of universal conquest to which Europe stands committed.

But the march of real democracy goes on. Slowly but surely the masses of men will become the great depositors of the bulk of both political and economical power, for their own good. Only democratic government can be both enlightened and selfish, both bond and free.

LOGIC

ONE of the interesting ways of settling the race problem comes to the fore in this period of unemployment among the poor. In Waterloo, Ky., the enterprising chief of police is arresting all unemployed Negroes and putting them in jail, thus securing their labor for the state at the cheapest possible figure. This bright idea did not originate in Kentucky. It is used all through the South and strong sermons and editorials are written against "lazy" Negroes.

Despite this there are people in this country who wonder at the increase of "crime" among colored people.

BOURBONS

THE Charlotte *Observer* notes that a Philadelphia paper has been asked why the intelligent, rich and thickly populated North and West are divided into nearly equal political parties while the South votes simply the Democratic ticket. The *Observer* explains ponderously. It says that the reason is because the Negro was enfranchised fifty years ago. "This colored majority were Republican and as a perfectly logical consequence they forced practically all white voters" into the Democratic party.

This is all clear and logical, but why

in the name of reason are they still voting like one unthinking herd instead of like intelligent beings? The Negroes have been disfranchised. In the southern South the black vote is quite negligible. Caddo Parish, La., with a majority of colored inhabitants has forty-nine Negro voters and over four thousand white voters. Why, then, are these four thousand white voters voting without rule or reason? Are they so afraid of forty-nine votes? Certainly not. The real reason is that there is no democratic government in the South. There is simply an oligarchy kept in power by skillful stirring up of hatred in the breasts of men against persons of Negro descent. In this way a vast rotten borough has been built up, and democratic government in the United States cannot triumph until this is destroyed root and branch and the franchise based upon intelligence regardless of race or sex.

AGILITY

MRS. O. H. P. BELMONT is coming in for considerable praise on account of her facile answer to a disturbing question while she was campaigning for suffrage in the South. At Chattanooga she was asked if her movement meant the giving of votes to colored women. Mrs. Belmont was most adroit. The expectant hush fell on the audience and instead of standing up like a frank woman and saying "Yes," Mrs. Belmont quibbled and twisted after the most approved southern fashion. "We want," she said, "the same voting privileges for colored women as are given colored men." And there the adroitness stands naked and unashamed.

It will undoubtedly attract the support of those southerners who want aristocratic white women to vote and to vote their narrow-headed prejudices into a new southern oligarchy. But there are people whom such dishonesty will not attract. It will not, for instance, attract the tens of thousands of black voters who are going to cast their ballots in certain states this fall where the suffrage question will come up. They will not be satisfied in having their black sisters of the South disfranchised like their black brothers and they will hold in frank and logical suspicion a party that is working for that kind of democracy.

Moreover, there are thousands of white people in this country whom this kind of quibbling disgusts. Everybody knows what desperate effort has been made by certain elements among the suffragists to dodge the Negro problem, to try and work for democracy for white people while being dumb before slavery for blacks. This element has been squelched several times in the counsels of the party but it continually bobs up. Let the suffrage movement beware! In the turnings of time Mrs. Belmont may not be as adroit as she at present conceives herself.

IN COURT

IT has happened time after time, in case after case. The American Negro has taken his cause before the courts half prepared. He has been warned of this. He ought to have learned by bitter experience but he has not yet learned. Law is not simply a matter of right and wrong—it is a matter of learning, experience and precedents. A colored lawyer may go before a court with a just case. He may bring learning to his case. In nine cases out of ten he cannot bring experience because the color line in the legal profession gives him little chance for experience. Without this experience his knowledge of precedents must be limited.

Attorney Harrison, who brought the recent Oklahoma case before the Supreme Court, is a man of intelligence and devotion to his cause. He was warned, however, frankly by lawyers of

wide experience to associate with himself the best legal talent of the country so that his case might be adequately presented. He refused this aid. He succumbed to the temptation of trying to bear the whole burden himself, under circumstances where it was no dishonor but ordinary carefulness to call to his aid other and more experienced attorneys. The result was that his case was half lost. The strong statement which was elicited from the court is of great value, but the real decision which will stop the Oklahoma experiment is yet to come, and all the laborious work must be done over again. How many times are we going to repeat this foolish mistake?

ROSS

MR. EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS has found a new road to fame and seems scarcely to recognize that the new road is quite old and worn by many bloody feet. Mr. Ross is vastly set up by a contemplation of his own perfections. He is white, handsome and masterful and of goodly physical proportions. Here, then, is a starting point. Persons who haven't his style of beauty and whose parents haven't been able to send them to college and above all, persons whose faces do not reflect the same amount of light as his open countenance are being damned by Mr. Ross for time and eternity.

"The black Portuguese," says the distinguished gentleman, "are obviously Negroid, lack foresight and are so stupid they cannot follow a straight line." After this it would hardly be necessary to quote things that Mr. Ross would say about Negroes. In fact, if Mr. Ross had his way he would clean most human beings off the earth. He has his firm opinions concerning Jews, "dagos" and the unspeakable East. The only difficulty about this new crusader is that he takes himself seriously and that current magazines are sufficiently in want of ideas to print what he says. Of such is the kingdom of prejudice!

To Keep the Memory of Charlotte Forten Grimké

By Angelina W. Grimke

Still are there wonders of the dark and day:
The muted shrilling of shy things at night,
So small beneath the stars and moon;
The peace, dream-frail, but perfect while the light
Lies softly on the leaves at noon.
These are, and these will be
Until eternity;
But she who loved them well has gone away.

Each dawn, while yet the east is veiléd grey,
The birds about her window wake and sing;
And far away, each day, some lark
I know is singing where the grasses swing;
Some robin calls and calls at dark.
These are, and these will be
Until eternity;
But she who loved them well has gone away.

The wild flowers that she loved down green ways stray;
Her roses lift their wistful buds at dawn,
But not for eyes that loved them best;
Only her little pansies are all gone,
Some lying softly on her breast.
And flowers will bud and be
Until eternity;
But she who loved them well has gone away.

Where has she gone? And who is there to say?
But this we know: her gentle spirit moves
And is where beauty never wanes,
Perchance by other streams, mid other groves;
And to us here, ah! she remains
A lovely memory
Until eternity;
She came, she loved, and then she went away.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

ANNUAL MEETING

THE annual meeting will be held in New York City on Monday afternoon, January 4, in Room 521, 70 Fifth Avenue, at 3 P. M. This meeting is purely formal and will, without transacting any business, adjourn until February 12. On that date there will be two sessions: an evening public session, over which Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard will preside, at Ethical Culture Hall, 2 W. 64th Street. The chief address will be made by the Hon. Charles S. Whitman, the Governor-elect, who will present the Spingarn Medal.

There will be other distinguished speakers on the program including Prof. William Pickens. The subject of the address of Prof. Pickens will be Frederick Douglass. Prof. Pickens, formerly of Talladega College and now at Wiley University, has devoted himself to teaching since his graduation from Yale where he was one of the honor men of his class, having been elected to the Phi Beta Kappa and class orator. He is becoming increasingly known as a lecturer and is the author of "The Heir of Slaves."

The business session of the annual meeting will be held in the Parish House of St. Mark's Methodist Episcopal Church at 2.30 in the afternoon of February 12, and will be open to members only. The Nominating Committee of the Board of Directors, consisting of Mr. Archibald H. Grimke, Chairman, Dr. F. N. Cardozo and Dr. C. E. Bentley, announce as their unanimous choice the nomination of the following directors to succeed themselves as members of the Board, their terms to expire in January, 1918: Rev. John Haynes Holmes, New York; Dr. V. Morton Jones, Brooklyn; Mr. John E. Milholland, New York; Prof. George William Cook, Washington; Dr. J. E. Spingarn, New York; Mr. Moorfield Storey, Boston; Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, New York; Dr. O. M. Waller, Brooklyn; Mr. William English Walling, New York; Mr. Archibald H. Grimke, Washington. These are to be voted upon by the Association at its business session, at which time a new constitution and by-laws recommended for adoption by the Board of Directors will be presented to the Association for approval.

MEETINGS

A PARLOR meeting was held at the New York home of Mrs. Henry Villard on Saturday afternoon, November 21. Mrs. Villard, who presided, made an eloquent plea for justice to the Negro and dwelt on the menace of race prejudice as illustrated in the present war. Mr. Harry T. Burleigh, the baritone and composer, captivated his audience by his characteristically artistic interpretation of selections from Negro spiritual songs and lullabies. The attention which Mrs. Butler R. Wilson's address received, was a significant tribute to its effectiveness.

The Trenton Branch held a successful meeting with Mr. Studin and Miss Kathryn M. Johnson as speakers. A number of new members was secured.

As a result of the meeting held by the Branch of the Oranges at which Mr. Arthur B. Spingarn, Chairman of the Legal Committee, and Mrs. Wilson spoke, fresh interest was aroused in the work of the N. A. A. C. P. and a series of meetings in the Oranges is now being planned.

At the meeting which was held at Howard University in the interest of the Association by College Chapter No. 1 a prize was offered for the best essay on the work of the N. A. A. C. P. This was donated by Mrs. Henry Villard and is a fine portrait of William Lloyd Garrison. Stirring addresses were made by Dr. Spingarn, Mrs. Wilson and Mr. Thomas of the District of Columbia Branch. The assembly hall was crowded to its doors by enthusiastic students.

Dr. Spingarn and Mrs. Wilson also spoke to large audiences in Wilmington and Harrisburg. Many new members and subscriptions to THE CRISIS were secured and in Wilmington a branch was organized by Miss Kathryn M. Johnson. Mrs. Wilson also addressed a series of meetings in Pittsburgh which will be the starting point in the lecture trip now being arranged for Dr. Spingarn in January, and which will include the following cities: Columbus, Springfield, Dayton and Cincinnati, Ohio; Springfield, Ill.; St. Joseph, Mo.; Des Moines, Iowa; Omaha, Neb.; Minneapolis, St. Paul, Toledo and Buffalo. A few additional engagements

might be made for Dr. Spingarn if application is made to the National Office immediately. Dr. Spingarn pays all his own expenses.

BRANCHES

Baltimore: The ambitious program of the Baltimore Branch for the next few months indicates the activity of its members in the work of the N. A. A. C. P. A concert is announced for Friday, December 18, at Albaugh's Theatre. Miss Lucy D. Slowe has entire management of this affair. Miss Slowe, who is a teacher of English in the Baltimore High School, is distinguished for her executive ability. She was Secretary of the Branch at the time of the annual conference in Baltimore and too high praise cannot be given her work. On February 12, a mass meeting to celebrate the anniversary of Frederick Douglass will be held, and on March 11, a second concert will be given for the benefit of the Association when the Williams Colored Singers will be heard.

Boston: The Boston Branch has won a victory in persuading the Boston School Committee to withdraw from the schools a book entitled "Forty Best Songs" compiled for school use by James M. McLaughlin. This action was taken after a public hearing lasting over an hour and attended by a crowd which overflowed the corridors of the School Committee Chambers. The National Association was represented by some of its most distinguished officers and members including Miss Elizabeth C. Putnam, who led the campaign by securing the signatures of many of Boston's leading citizens to the petition to eliminate the books from the school system; Mr. Moorfield Story, President of the National Association; Mr. Francis J. Garrison, the last surviving son of William Lloyd Garrison, and Dr. Horace Bumstead. Mr. Butler R. Wilson, Secretary of the Boston Branch, who presented the case, summed up the matter as follows:

"The objectionable words used in these songs are all such terms as are always used in the sense of epithets and our children have returned from school heart-broken over the facts that these songs are sung in school and that the white children had jeered at them as a result."

Mr. Wilson was earnestly supported by the Rev. Montrose William Thornton, the Rev. Benjamin W. Swain, the Rev. Samuel W. Brown, and the Rev. Powhattan Bagnall. Mr. Alonzo Meserve, Master of Bowdoin School, said that the songs had caused trouble in his school. The vote of the committee to discard the books was unamious.

District of Columbia: Another victory over segregation was won by the District of Columbia Branch in the case of one of the department stores in Washington which had discriminated against two colored teachers by requesting them to sit in a particular part of their restaurant. Both the ladies who are members of the District of Columbia Branch are college graduates and prominent in the Washington schools. The matter was taken up by the Branch and the owner of the store has given assurance that no discrimination would be tolerated in the future.

El Paso: This southern outpost announces that they have planned a co-operative Emancipation celebration with the local churches, lodges and schools for Friday, January 1, for the benefit of the Association.

Kansas City: The Association desires through the columns of THE CRISIS to express its appreciation of the generosity of the Kansas City Branch for the substantial contribution recently sent in response to the appeal to branches.

The ordinance introduced to prevent the erection of the Baptist College on the Massie property is now in the Public Improvement Committee of the Upper House of the Legislature. Dr. H. M. Smith, a member of the Branch, has been most active in his efforts to kill this ordinance.

Considerable space has been devoted in the local press to President Jacob's reply to the attack of Silas Harris on the questionnaire which was sent by the Association to determine the attitude of the next Congress on the race question.

The Branch announces that during the winter it will conduct an oratorical and musical contest open to the high schools and colleges in Kansas City and vicinity. Two cups will be offered as prizes, one going to the school which presents the best oration, and the other to the school which has the best glee club.

Topeka: The National Association is to be congratulated upon having as the President of one of its branches the Governor-elect of a great western state, the Hon. Arthur Capper, who has been President of the Topeka Branch since its organization. Mr. Capper is the owner of the Capper Building. He came to Topeka in 1884 and

secured work as a typesetter on the *Daily Capital*. He became successively reporter, city editor, Washington correspondent, owner and publisher of this paper, and in addition now also publishes several other papers and magazines known as the Capper publications. He is director in several banks and trust companies, is President of the Kansas State Historical Society and of the Board of Regents of the Kansas Agricultural College, and prominent in several clubs.

LEGAL BUREAU

An illustration of a difficulty the Association sometimes meets in its legal work is the Jim-Crow case from Oklahoma, McCabe et al vs. Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company, recently argued before the Supreme Court of the United States by Mr. William Harrison.

The Association has been interested in this case since it first came up several years ago but as letters and telegrams addressed to plaintiffs' counsel generally received no reply it was impossible for a long time to ascertain anything definite. Finally the Association got in communication with Mr. Harrison and after a personal interview decided to comply with his request for cooperation by advancing $180 to pay the cost of printing the record of the case. We quote from Mr. Harrison's letter to Mr. Storey dated August 23, 1913:

"Acting in the name of and for the Association, Miss Nerney said that as a condition precedent to furnishing costs in said case it must be understood and expressly agreed that counsel for the Association must be invited to assist in the case and must cooperate and fully understand all procedure hereafter. To all of which I hereby and now expressly agree and take pleasure in extending this invitation and request to Your Honor to assist me in all things hereafter pertaining to said case."

After examining the record of the case, however, the attorneys for the Association decided that it was not drawn so as to bring the question at issue squarely before the Court and that, therefore, the Association could not further co-operate. The wisdom of this decision is indicated by the statement of Chief Justice Hughes to the effect that if the case has come before the court in a different form it would have had a chance of being decided on its merits.

Judge Storey, writing to the Association's attorney under date of November 19, 1913, says:

"The plaintiffs in this case do not allege that either of them has any cause of action, they do not state that they have been denied proper accommodations on request, nor do they allege that they or either of them propose to travel. Reduced to its lowest terms their case is this,—that the state of Oklahoma has passed a statute which permits the railroad companies to provide dining and sleeping car accommodations for only one race, excepting accommodations of this sort from the general rule that the accommodations for all passengers should be equally good, that the railroad companies will, under the provisions of this law, refuse to provide equal sleeping and dining car accommodations and they ask that they be enjoined from obeying the law. In the absence of any allegation that they or either of the plaintiffs have suffered any injury, I do not see how either of them alone could maintain a suit at law, or all of them together a suit in equity.

"If the question could be fairly presented, I think the Court might be persuaded to hold that the railroad company was bound to furnish equal accommodations in sleeping and dining cars to whites and Negroes alike, but it seems to me that the way to raise the question is, for some colored man to ask for such accommodations and be refused, and then bring suit for damages. I am unwilling to go to the Supreme Court with a case which I think cannot be maintained, for I believe that would probably weaken my influence with the Court in other cases, and it is very certain that cases of great importance to the colored race will arise in which, perhaps, I may be able to help."

Another typical case is that of the bombardment of the house of a colored man in one of our large eastern cities. He had purchased a home in a white neighborhood into which he moved with his wife and mother. In his absence a mob of boys stoned the house breaking windows and doing other serious damage. It was some time before the police reached the scene and in the meantime the two women were in great danger. Th local press devoted columns to condemnation of the outrage. The Association sent a representative to the spot at once and arranged to engage the best legal counsel in the country. The man and his family

were interviewed and then it developed that he had been advised by a city official by whom he was employed as a chauffeur to drop the case. Assurance was given him that the city would reimburse him for all damages to his property. The Association could readily understand that no man would willingly risk his position in these hard times and also sympathized with him in his decision to move his family as far as possible from the scene of the riot; but the disheartening part of the incident was his unwillingness to sell his house to a colored family, which would have probably meant a loss to him on his original investment, or to even rent it to a colored family, alternatives urged by the Association in order that a test case might be made. On the other hand, he suggested that the Association reimburse him for his investment in the house and move a colored family into it.

In encouraging contrast to this is the case of a courageous colored woman in the same city who had had a similar experience when she moved into a white neighborhood recently but who stayed on the ground. The guard placed about her home has been withdrawn and no further difficulty has been anticipated. This case was conducted by the local Branch of the N. A. A. C. P.

The following have recently been elected members of the Board of Directors: Dr. F. N. Cardozo, Baltimore; Mr. Butler R. Wilson, Boston; Prof. George William Cook, Washington.

In the Matter of Two Men

By James D. Corrothers

One does such work as one will not,
And well each knows the right;
Though the white storm howls, or the sun is hot,
The black must serve the white.
And it's, oh, for the white man's softening flesh,
While the black man's muscles grow!
Well, I know which grows the mightier,
I know; full well I know.

The white man seeks the soft, fat place,
And he moves and he works by rule.
Ingenious grows the humbler race
In Oppression's prodding school.
And it's, oh, for a white man gone to seed,
While the Negro struggles so!
And I know which race develops most,
I know; yes, well I know.

The white man rides in a palace car,
And the Negro rides "Jim Crow."
To damn the other with bolt and bar,
One creepeth so low; so low!
And it's, oh, for a master's nose in the mire,
While the humbled hearts o'erflow!
Well, I know whose soul grows big at this,
And whose grows small; *I know!*

The white man leases out his land,
And the Negro tills the same.
One works; one loafs and takes command;
But I know who wins the game!
And it's, oh, for the white man's shrinking soil,
As the black's rich acres grow!
Well, I know how the signs point out at last,
I know; ah, well I know.

The white man votes for his color's sake,
While the black, for his is barred;
(Though "ignorance' is the charge they make),
But the black man studies hard.
And it's, oh, for the white man's sad neglect,
For the power of his light let go!
So, I know which man must win at last,
I know! Ah, Friend, I know!

THE STORY OF THE AMISTAD

By SUSAN E. W. JOCELYN

CINQUE

Engraved by Sartain after the original painting from life by N. Jocelyn; now in possession of the Historical Society of New Haven.

MORE than seventy years ago, a slave-ship that flew the flag of Portugal, brought from Mendi, near Sierra Leone, on the west coast of Africa, a party of fifty men, and two or three children, who had all been kidnapped for sale as slaves in the United States.

In consequence of cruel treatment during the voyage to Havana, a number of them died. At this place they were placed on another ship, the *Amistad*, along with their owners, and were started for southern plantations.

On shipboard they received such inhuman treatment that their ire was aroused, and finally broke forth in an uprising under Cinque, the forceful leader of the band. They overpowered the captain, and the crew escaped in boats. Then they assumed control of the vessel and ordered the Spaniards, Montez and Ruiz, who had purchased them from the kidnappers, to steer them back to Africa. In the day time, the sun assured them that they were sailing eastward, but at night, the cunning Spaniards turned the helm in an opposite direction, resulting in a northwestern course, that finally brought them to Long Island near Montauk Point, when after much maneuvering, and many misunderstandings with the residents, they were taken across the sound under the arrest of a United States survey brig, to the port of New London.

From there they were taken to New Haven, and locked up in jail, biding the time when a decision by the government should send them back to Africa, or deliver them to the Spanish government that claimed them. In 1839, a time when the boasted "Land of the free was also the land of the slave," there was only one opinion on slavery that could be expressed with safety to life. However, these Africans were not without friends who were determined that these kidnapped men should be allowed to go free. To this end, Mr. Joshua Leavett and Mr. Lewis Tappen, of New York, and the brothers Nathaniel and Simeon S. Jocelyn, of New Haven, were appointed a committee to procure funds for the protection of these friendless ones. The best legal advice was secured by these philanthropic men, so that the case should be well pre-

sented, and there was a sharp fight for their freedom, conducted most efficiently by Mr. Seth Staples and Mr. Thomas Sedgwick, of New York, and Mr. Roger S. Baldwin, of New Haven, afterwards governor of Connecticut, and father of the present governor of Connecticut.

At first it was difficult to get the facts of the kidnapping, as the Negroes' language was an unknown tongue. Finally, Professor Josiah Gibbs, of Yale, interested himself to the extent of catching a few of their words, and then watching along the wharves in New York, till he found an African sailor who seemed familiar with the strange language. This achievement was of great assistance to the able lawyers who conducted the case in court. So also was the portrait of the leader Cinque, painted by one of the champions of their cause, Nathaniel Jocelyn, of New Haven. The painting is preserved in the Historical building in that city, and attracts much attention there. It represents a man of magnificent physique, who was also described as the personification of agility and grace, with a face of marked character.

The trial of the case which was held in New Haven was decided in favor of the Negroes, or the "Amistads" as they were then designated, but an appeal was immediately taken from District Court to the Circuit Court, with the same result, and afterwards it was carried still higher to the Supreme Court at Washington. Excitement became intense. President Van Buren leaned to the Spanish, the southern side. Mr. Baldwin renewed his efforts, and ex-President John Quincy Adams, to whose name every colored person should give honor, entered into the case with keenest interest. His diary at that time testified how near to his heart this struggle for freedom lay.

Just outside the New Haven harbor a schooner called the *Grampus* lay in waiting several days, that the captives might be hurried away as soon as a decision favorable to the Spaniards was made, so that there would be no time for an appeal on the captives' part, but there was another vessel not a great way off in those same waters, prepared by the philanthropists, to frustrate this plan, and give time for more argument. The captives were free-born, and merely kidnapped into slavery.

The court commenced February 20, 1848, and after many delays, on Mareh 25th, a despatch was sent to Mr. Baldwin in New Haven, "The captives are free. Yours in great haste and great joy, J. Q. Adams."

The friends of these men immediately set about raising funds for their return to their native land. In the meantime they were taught to read and write, and the principles of Christianity were instilled into their minds by those who had helped them in their trouble.

Finally a vessel was found in New York harbor bound for Sierra Leone, and passage was secured for them. Rev. James W. C. Pennington, pastor of a colored Congregational church in Hartford, Conn., made an effort at this time to send the gospel to Africa, and this was said to be the origin of the Mendi Mission which was in 1846 combined with other societies, and became the American Misisonary Association.

Of the five teachers who went out, two were colored: Mr. and Mrs. Wilson, members of Mr. Pennington's church in Hartford. Mr. Wilson was once a slave, and Mrs. Wilson a Connecticut woman.

In their native land some of these men, it is said, fell back for a while into their savage ways, but eventually the influence of the religious teaching in this country asserted itself, and they interested themselves in the spread of Christianity among their people.

Senator Tillman to the Editor of the Maryland Suffrage News

My dear madam:

Your note of July 26th received along with the clipping you sent. The same crusade that is now going on to force woman suffrage on the South has its origin among the same type of sentimentalists who brought about the Civil War and hounded the southern people because of slavery.

I am sending you under separate cover copies of my speech on woman suffrage in the Senate, and Dr. Bledece's article on "The Mission of Woman," both of which are commended to your careful reading.

There are two sides to this question as everyone familiar with the South must know. We have in South Carolina, a preponder-

ance of Negro population,—100,000 more Negroes than white people. A moment's thought will show you that if women were given the ballot, the Negro women would vote as well as white women. Experience has taught us that Negro women are much more aggressive in asserting the "rights of that race" than the Negro men are. In other words, they have always urged the Negro men on in the conflicts we have had in the past between the two races for supremacy. We found it hard enough to maintain good government under such conditions without adding to our perplexities by giving the ballot to women. You do not realize or understand,—you cannot in Maryland,—because that state has always had a white majority, and a large one at that,—what it is to have a Negro legislature, or a majority of Negroes in the legislature to make laws and to levy taxes, as we of the South have had. With a "free vote and fair count," which we have never been willing to give the Negroes, and never will, in my judgment, South Carolina and Mississippi would inevitably be dominated by Negroes; and the States of Georgia, Florida, Alabama and Louisiana would have a large Negro vote in their law making and tax levying bodies. Consider the results. The debasement of the ballot has always produced corruption, and bad government follows inevitably.

I am also sending you under separate cover a photograph taken many years ago of the first Reconstruction Legislature of South Carolina in 1868. This will give you a hint, and only a hint, of what our people suffered until civilization seemed to be perishing from the face of the earth; but with the determination to throw off the yoke of carpet-baggers, scalawags and Negroes, regardless of law and the army, South Carolina was redeemed in 1876 by its own true sons by the aid of the shot gun and pistol, as well as by the superior intelligence of the white managers, who cheated the Negroes mercilessly, because it was necessary.

As you seem to want to study this subject some, I will send you along with the rest of the literature I am enclosing two or three speeches on the race question, in which I boldly told the Republicans to their teeth on the floor of the Senate, that we "shot the Negroes," "cheated them" and "stuffed the ballot boxes."

Now, enough on that phase of the subject. I turn my attention to the clipping you enclosed about the per cent. of girls between 10 and 15 as breadwinners in Alabama and South Carolina, as well as the "age of consent" being 14 in the above states.

If you know anything about the Negroes, you know that very few of the women of that race have any idea of virtue at all, and that must be the reason why the "age of consent" is so low. It is well understood that when the puberty arouses the passions in the sexes— and those passions are most virulent—Negro girls would take advantage inevitably of white men and boys who had sexual intercourse with them. If there was a severe punishment, it would involve very serious consequences. Mind you, now, when I was in the South Carolina Constitutional Convention in 1895, I did my very best and urged with all the eloquence I had at command, that the "age of consent" be increased to 16. But my arguments were unavailing and the age was fixed at 14 for the reason given above.

To judge of South Carolina on a basis of per cent, you must remember that where there are so many Negroes, there is obliged to be lots of ignorance. It is very misleading and unjust to urge against the South the disparity which statistics show to exist in the educational work. Then, too, all the accumulated wealth which enables rich Northern communities to levy heavy taxes to run their schools many more months in the year than we do, is much of it owing to the poverty of the South and their inability to bear heavier taxation. The southern states were not only devastated by the war, but they lost all their property; most of the finest houses were burned and in every way poverty seized on our land. To follow this up and increase the difficulties we have had to labor under, reconstruction came and the ballot was given to the Negroes. Ignorant, semi-barbarous savages, many of them only one generation removed and none of them more than three generations removed, from the barbarians in Africa, were given the ballot.

My dear madam, think of all these things and then write me what conclusions you reach about my present attitude in regard to woman suffrage.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) B. R. TILLMAN.

SEGREGATION

By MARY WHITE OVINGTON

READERS of THE CRISIS know that within the past three years there have been repeated efforts to legalize the segregation of Negroes in the cities of the United States. These efforts have taken the form of ordinances prescribing the limits in which the Negroes shall live, and forbidding residence outside the prescribed limits. A second segregation has taken place since the incoming of the Democratic administration; a segregation in government departments, not sporadic, at the whim of an individual foreman, but by order of the departmental head.

The National Association and The Crisis have fought this segregation, but while it has been reduced much of it still exists.

There is, of course, nothing new in segregation. Negroes have been and are discriminated against throughout the country, and they are often segregated as they rent their dwellings and practice their trades. But it is one thing for an individual or a group of individuals to dictate a Negro policy, and it is a different and more serious thing when this policy becomes a law. In the first case, the oppressed race has a fighting chance; but when the discrimination is legalized, to combat it becomes a crime.

The policy of segregation is vigorously defended, not only by the Negrophobist, but by many kindly and intelligent people who believe that they have the colored man's welfare at heart. The arguments that the latter put forth are of importance and should be understood and met.

Legalized segregation, these people say, is necessary for the preservation of the white race. "It is a racial instinct that causes the Negro to be repulsive to the white man *when associating with him on the same social plane.*" (*Query:* Is the instinct *racial* that causes the Negro to be repulsive to the white man when he wears the uniform of a mail clerk, but disappears when the same man dons the apron of a waiter?) Secondly, segregation gives the Negro a definite position in the city and government, instead of leaving him entirely to the mercy of the white man who wants to get rid of him altogether. For instance, by segregating Negroes in the Printing and Engraving Department the government may decide that a certain number shall always work in that department, and thus assure the Negro of definite employment. And in the passing of a segregation ordinance by a city, the white people may determine to do better by the colored section than they have done by the legally unrecognized present colored quarters. And lastly, segregation decreases race friction and thus is right and best. The white man does not want to associate with any Negro but the servant, and if the Negro be self-respecting he will keep out of the white man's way. As the Baltimore *Sun* puts it: "Most white men have too much self-respect to thrust themselves into company where they are not wanted. It would be well if the Negro could cultivate the same spirit. It would do far more to elevate him than the moving into white blocks."

That segregation brings a momentary relief from race friction and secures a definite place for the colored man is sometimes the case. It did so when the Negro left the white church and started his own, when he taught in his own school and doctored the patients of his own race. But the segregation with which we are concerned deals with large bodies of colored men, employees in one trade or industry, and with hundreds of families seeking places in which to live. How does it work out with these groups?

To turn to Washington. Segregation in the government departments establishes a precedent for treating white workers and colored workers as two sets of employees. At present all come under the same civil-service rules and are admitted on the same examinations. But the placing of Negroes in separate rooms, the assigning them to jobs by themselves, may easily break down their impersonal status as civil servants. They may be placed in such positions as the white men in power choose for them, and may be paid such a wage as the same powerful white men deem suitable for a Negro. This has happened so often in the South as to be entirely familiar to every southern colored laborer. The Southern Railway, for instance, has two scales of

wages—one for its white and one for its colored workers; the latter, when doing the same work, receive only two-thirds of the amount received by the white employes. Colored waiters are a segregated group and receive a smaller wage than white.

Antagonism arises when you place your laborers in segregated groups. The friction may be lessened between individual employes, but it becomes more bitter between the groups. The employer of colored and white labor in the South knows this, and when he wants to break a strike, to prevent concerted action on the part of his workingmen, he raises the cry of race solidarity and forces the white laborer back to his pitiable wage by an appeal to his still more pitiable race hatred. This is perhaps an unimportant argument regarding our wretchedly paid government workers, but it is of vast importance in connection with the efforts of southern whites to better their condition. The Negro is used against them as a strike breaker, and confusion is secured among a class that needs to be united to secure any adequate return for its toil. The official recognition of race lines at Washington will strengthen those employers who reduce wages by pitting race against race.

The advocates of segregation believe that though the Negro be separated from the white workman, and though he receive a smaller wage, he will be more likely to keep his job than if he be daily in the presence of the white man. But facts do not seem to justify this hope. The Southern Railway, of which we have spoken, expresses a liking for colored employees, and would allow them to work wherever they were fitted. But the labor unions of the South, which have now adopted a policy of complete segregation, say otherwise; and a long and bitter strike was called to prevent the Negroes from acting as firemen. And so it goes on all along the labor line. As the two races are segregated, by their unions or by their employers, friction increases and the Negro usually goes to the wall.

The legalizing of segregation in the cities, it is claimed, will provide attractive spots where Negroes may dwell. But what precedent have we for thinking that this will be the case? Perhaps those who honestly uphold segregation ordinances as conducive to the Negro's welfare are familiar with the Oriental cities under British rule where the various races have their own attractive quarters. But these cities are under imperial rule. We must remember that America is a democracy, and is therefore particularly unsuccessful with benevolent feudalism. A benevolent despot might take control of Richmond or Atlanta and divide the city into pleasant sections, taxing heavily and impartially for the upkeep of the whole. Such a despot would make equally attractive the white and the colored quarters. But in a democracy, of white voters only, the city would not be ruled with impartiality. Colored people would be forced to remain in such localities as the white people did not like. And if by chance the colored should succeed in beautifying their quarter, they would have no assurance that their white neighbors might not any day steal it from them. Why not, indeed? The white have the power to say where the colored shall live; it is they who segregate, and it is they who can give and take away. One can imagine this policy creeping from the city into the country, and one can see the ordinances changing as the white citizens change their minds regarding the most desirable land. If anyone doubts the probability of this thing's happening, let him read the story of the white man's treatment of the North American Indian.

And yet the Negro should submit to discrimination because the white man wants him to, and, as the Baltimore *Sun* says, because it is rude to push yourself where you are not wanted. Here we have the second argument of those who favor segregation.

This argument, we may at once note, is for "colored consumption only." That is, the Baltimore *Sun*, or any other paper, would not presume to write in this fashion regarding a white nationality. First, because it does not want to offend the whites, and, secondly, because it knows that it is just because the white man has pushed himself where he was not wanted that he has attained to success. We have a democratic form of government because the workingmen of the early part of the nineteenth century forced themselves upon the unwilling legislatures and demanded representation in the council chamber. The story of the growth of our cities is the story of one despised group after another pushing its way where it was not wanted and maintaining its foothold. American progress, the

good and the bad of it, has been achieved by ambitious, aggressive, pushing men.

And this is not only the history of America; it is the history of England when America was but the dream of a Genoese. Probably when the first baker took off his apron and set himself up as a gentleman he was informed that he was not wanted, and that he would be far more gentlemanly if he went back to his oven. But the Bakers and the Cooks, the Tailors and the Drapers, the Shepards and the multitudinous smiths refused to cultivate the spirit recommended by the Baltimore *Sun*. They took up other professions, they moved into new neighborhoods, and their descendants figure in the telephone books in pretty much every remunerative occupation but that to which their names assign them.

No, when we tell people that they should not push themselves forward, but should stay contentedly where the ruling class puts them, it means that we want to use these people for our selfish ends. The labor world, that world that pulsates now on every continent with a common spirit, knows this, and strives hourly to wrest privilege from the wealthy few. The world of women is awakening to a realization of the same truth, and is refusing to take the place so long assigned to it by the master class. And every advance made by this world of women has been made against the policy of self-effacement preached by the Baltimore *Sun*. Sex segregation has been nearly as bad as race segregation. Education, professional and business work, freedom of thought, these belonged to the sphere in which men revolved; and it was only as women used pushing and aggressive methods that they forced an entrance.

But, says the believer in segregation, patiently or impatiently, according to his temperament: "Don't you understand that the arguments that apply to the white race do not apply to the black? It may be true that white men have been aggressive and pushing, but we cannot permit this in the colored man. If we do he will push his way into our parlor and marry our daughter. Amalgamation is unthinkable and we must be adamant in preventing it."

Here is our last and omnipresent argument. To which I for one make answer; that I do not, at least just now, desire to see amalgamation. But I oppose it, whether it takes place in the parlor or in the alley. And as I see practically no intermarriage in those States where it is permitted, I am not concerned with the parlor. The Southern girls whom I know are quite capable of taking care of that situation without segregation ordinances.

But what about the alley? For the sake of our Christianity let us put aside our hypocrisy and recognize that it is not the white woman who needs to be protected but the colored. The country to-day has learned that women are sold by thousands into the most horrible form of slavery. Prostitution, the white-slave traffic, these are facts that we have learned to face. Let us learn also that the colored women, all of them, are subjected to insult. The white man, if he desires to do wrong, knows that the world will take his word against the word of the colored woman. He may do his worst without danger to himself. So he brings amalgamation into the alley and walks away leaving it bear the burden alone.

The outcry for segregation continually tends to make the segregated race appear as all of one kind, as all of one class. Washington has its thousands of attractive colored girls, young women who have been carefully reared and who are modest and refined. And yet these young people are frequently exposed to petty insult and persecution. The white men refuse to believe in their virtue and they are molested in many little nasty ways. They learn to despise the ranting Negrophobist, who is always first to approach them, with a bitterness that only a virtuous woman who has suffered insult can understand.

I would propose another policy for the administration and the good friends of the Negro in Washington. Drop segregation and preserve the purity of both races by respecting colored womanhood. Encourage the young women of color who are going quietly on their way and are annoyed by white men to bring their cases into court. I know a colored woman in New York who, when she was spoken to by a white man, had him arrested by a policeman and appeared against him. He gave as his excuse that he came from Virginia, but it proved of no avail with the judge, who fined him $10 and made him apologize. Impress the white men of Washington that they will receive treatment similar to this. Try this policy for a time and see if it does not reduce friction between the two races, always re-

membering that friction is felt by both parties.

Imagine such a policy in a man-governed capital! But there are women in Washington, white and colored, and the time may come when they will grapple with the race question together; and it will be hard if they cannot produce something more conducive to justice and good feeling than segregation ordinances and the platitudinous orations on the superiority of the white Americans.

THE BURDEN

COLORED MEN AND WOMEN LYNCHED WITHOUT TRIAL

1885.....	78	1900.....	107
1886.....	71	1901.....	107
1887.....	80	1902.....	86
1888.....	95	1903.....	86
1889.....	95	1904.....	83
1890.....	90	1905.....	61
1891.....	121	1906.....	64
1892.....	155	1907.....	60
1893.....	154	1908.....	93
1894.....	134	1909.....	73
1895.....	112	1910.....	65
1896.....	80	1911.....	63
1897.....	122	1912.....	63
1898.....	102	1913.....	79
1899.....	84	1914, 11 months	52

Total 2,715

MISSISSIPPIGRAMS

AT G——. "My son graduated from a law school in the North and came home to practice. Old Judge ——, a good friend of ours for many years, advised that he leave here as these people would not tolerate a colored lawyer."

At G——. "Since Vardaman's time the good white people are afraid to say anything to protect colored people. And the others who get into office seem to do all the meanness they can to Negroes, especially to those who have property and education. They have ran several away from here. They let the lowest type of Negro do anything they want to us, and get off with it. It seems that they don't want to have decent and respectable negroes any more.

At C——. "I spoke at this place on 'The Progress and Education of the Negro.' My speech was an hour long and was applauded by some of the whites present. Next day I received this anonymous note: 'You have done us great harm.' Several Negroes came to me and advised me not to speak any more as the whites didn't like my speech. 'What did I say to offend them?' I asked. The following is a full list:

1. I read a quotation from Mrs. L. H. Hammond's book in which a white woman is described as having entertained her beau in the kitchen.

2. I had mentioned a colored man who owned an automobile.

3. Said I had attended a northern university and traveled in Europe.

4. Said some white people came to the United States as indentured servants.

5. Said Anglo-Saxon is not the greatest race in the world in point of numbers.

6. Said I wanted to send my daughter to Paris.

It was claimed that No. 1 reflected upon white women! Numbers 2, 3 and 6 showed I believed in social equality and number 4 and 5 reflected on the white people in general. For saying these things in the course of a speech an hour long, I was advised to be quiet and get out of town as soon as possible.

At Greenwood, Miss.

Vardaman's home. Reported Verbatim.

Negro—"Is there any mail for ——?"

Lady Clerk—(after looking over a number of letters for me)—"Is your name ——?"

Negro—"Yes."

Clerk—"What did you say?"

Negro—"Yes, my name is ——."

Clerk—"Where did you come from?"

Negro—"I came from ——."

Clerk—"I thought you did not belong around here, for folks around here's got manners, and know how to speak to ladies. Why didn't you say 'Yes ma'am?'" (giving mail to me).

Negro—"I beg your pardon madam, I meant no discourtesy. They only say 'Yes' where I came from."

A Man's Voice—"If you aint got no manners you better learn some, and that quick."

I went to my stopping place and told the incident as a great joke. The man of the house grew grave, his wife looked pale, and got up and walked out to hide her emotion. "You may congratulate yourself that there was only one white man who heard you. Don't you go to that post office any more, but you get out of this town as soon as possible," said the man of the house, "for a mob may come after you any moment."

At Ackerman, Miss.

(Negro to ticket agent on other side of office.)—"Please give me a ticket to Reform, Miss."

Agent—"Did you say Reform?"

Negro—(Having forgotten the experience of a few days before in Greenwood)—"Yes."

Agent—"Did you say 'Yes' to me?"

Negro—"Yes."

Agent—"Don't you know I am a white man? You say 'Yes sir' to me or you won't get any ticket here."

Negro—(calmly)—"I thought you sold tickets for money. I didn't know there was any special way of asking for them."

Agent—"You damn black nigger, you,—you get out of here or I'll teach you how to talk to a white man."

So I paid my fare on the train.

At Waterford, Miss.

At U. S. Post Office kept in a small store.

Negro—(opening door)—"Please tell me where I mail these letters?"

White Man—(It was a legal holiday but the store was open. Several young men had been drinking.)—"Take your head out of that door, nigger."

Negro—"I merely want to mail these letters."

White Man—"If you do not get out of there I'll fill your guts full of lead."

So I moved away without mailing my letters, and well I did, for a half hour later I met another Negro who had blood all over his face and shirt, his mouth and head having been cut, and he told me that those white men at the store did it. I asked my host what could be done. He replied: "You had better say nothing about it if you want to get away alive."

"These are a few of the experiences of a trip through Mississippi. Everywhere the Negroes say: 'Don't write anything about conditions down here for it will make them worse, and whatever you say don't mention my name, for in this country a Negro is absolutely without protection.'"

"I have carefully inquired at a dozen newstands for THE CRISIS but did not find it, so I venture to write."—From a Traveler.

"In America 'before the war,' I do not remember this contagion of luck phenomenon. But this summer I have had evidence of the imperviousness of our social atmosphere to manners thought reasonable in Europe. At one of the chief hotels of Contrexeville, whose waters are in great repute, an American arriving just for dinner was ushered at once to an empty place at the 'table d'hote.' He attacked his soup and then gave his first glance to his neighbors. At his right was seated a well-dressed, well-mannered colored gentleman.

"The American jumped to his feet, threw his napkin at his unwelcome neighbor's head, and stalked haughtily from the room. He had made a scene, which a gentleman never does without necessity. The colored man, to whose presence none of the half-dozen nationalities at table had dreamed of objecting, sat silent and hurt. He happened to be an American citizen also. An aged Frenchman, distinguished-looking and decorated, rose from his seat and complimented the colored gentleman for keeping his temper, and expressed the general indignation at what had happened. Meanwhile the white American was heard outside wrangling with the proprietor, who informed him promptly that he was free to eat by himself at a separate table in the restaurant!"—*Evening Post* (New York City).

¶ Dr. Johann Kunst is trying to organize an association to furnish to the German press and people biographical sketches of colored men of the less advanced races who have distinguished themselves as scholars or inventors. In his travels in German Southwest Africa Doctor Kunst found that the only colonist disposed to regard the native as other than a beast of burden created for the white man's benefit was an old man who had fought in the American Civil War "and had seen the penalty of evildoing."

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We, ourselves, declined 10% of the applications submitted to us last year for a total of nearly Two Hundred Thousand Dollars. Some rejected applicants may hide their alarm under the cloak of indifference or anger, but there is the secret knowledge that comes with stunning force: "I am so near to death that a life insurance company does not feel able to assume a risk on my life. I am the one life in nine! I am impaired!"

The whole trouble was, these people waited too late to apply! If they had applied sooner, they might have been accepted as would fully one-half of all the people who are declined. There is one time, at least, in every man's life when he can secure life insurance. There is also a time in every man's life when he *cannot* secure life insurance. Are you waiting for that time when you cannot? Maybe you are waiting to take out a policy when you are able. But have you thought when you get able your health may be gone? You may be impaired! You may be the one life in nine that is bad!

Maybe once in your life you had a policy and let it lapse. Maybe once in your life you applied for a policy and didn't take it. Do you know whether you could get that policy today? Nothing stands still. Decay is inevitable. Today you may be impaired, whereas you were as sound as a new dollar last year. Don't you know men among your friends who have suddenly sickened and died? Strong robust men they were, who said that you couldn't kill them with an axe, but underneath there was a secret disease, unknown maybe to them, until it burst forth in its deadly climax. They went into bad health before they were *able* to take their insurance.

The time to take life insurance is *now*. The time to take life insurance is when you can get it. You can get it today. But tomorrow you may be impaired. And once you get it, hold on to it. You may never get it again.

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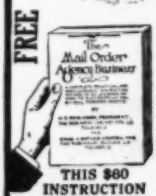

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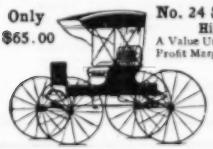

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